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# NARRATIVE

OF

# SCENES AND EVENTS

IN

# ITALY.

FROM 1847 TO 1849.

INCLUDING

## THE SIEGE OF VENICE.

BY LIEUTENANT-GENERAL PEPE,

COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF THE ARMY OF EXPEDITION OF NAPLES,
AND OF THE FORCES OF THE VENETIAN REPUBLIC.

TRANSLATED FROM

THE UNPUBLISHED ITALIAN MANUSCRIPT.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

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NARRATIVE OF

# EVENTS IN ITALY.

FROM 1847 TO 1849.

## CHAPTER I.

From 1846 to 1848.—The Author desires to dedicate his Memoirs to Pius IX.—Scope of this Volume.—First blood shed in Italy in the cause of Liberty.—Conversation between Pietro Ferretti and Pius IX.—Revolution in Palermo.—At Naples the King is obliged to give a Constitution.—Hatred of the Austrians by the Piedmontese and their government.—Details of the Insurrection in Reggio, and its consequences.

IN the summer of 1846, having terminated my Memoirs, and determined on publishing them, I thought of dedicating them to Pius IX. My intention was to flatter the Pontiff's self-love, by proving to him that his political conduct had attracted the sympathy of men, who were little disposed to flatter princes, and at the same time to show him, that should he now deviate



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from the path he had chosen, or fail in fulfilling the promises held out, instead of meriting immortal glory, he would become odious to all Italy, as well as to the rest of Europe, since even those who professed Protestantism now applauded him. My dedication was approved by all to whom I read it, except De Lamennais and Mamiani in Paris, and Bozzelli, to whom I sent it, in Naples: I yielded to the weight of these authorities, and suppressed my dedication. Seeing that Charles Albert was disposed to ameliorate his government, I softened my expressions on his conduct in 1821, and thus my Memoirs went to press: in England, in France, and above all in Naples, they met with a favourable reception, which I could hardly have expected. In Naples, where they penetrated with difficulty and by stealth, they sold for ten times their price; even the ministers, who were the first to read them, acknowledged that I had told the truth without any exaggeration.

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In 1847, the political news from Italy was such, that my friends said and wrote to me that I should have to write other volumes: they were not deceived.

The volumes I am about to publish will not, like their predecessors, contain the adventures of a youth, who for his love of liberty was driven into exile at seventeen years of age; who afterwards, for persevering in the same love, without a moment's repose, passed his days alternately in chains, or in camps; who, in his thirty-eighth year, having attained the highest military rank, at the head of 50,000 men, succeeded in giving liberty to his country.

The vicissitudes recounted in these volumes will not be less strange, but they are the adventures of an old man, from his sixty-fourth to his sixty-sixth year, who yet believes himself neither less daring nor less determined than in the days of his youth, and who has again devoted himself, with his pristine ardour, to the independence of his beloved Italy.



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As, in consequence of the late events, the Italians now honour me with more than their former confidence, so my desire and my duty become more stringent to set forth the facts, to point out the errors committed, and the means of avoiding them, whenever the sacred struggle for our independence shall be renewed.

It would be unpardonable not to avail ourselves of the advantages we have gained in our late misfortunes, first by the experience of our strength and valour, and next by the certainty we have obtained, that, from the Alps to Trapani, all desire to drive out the Austrians and be independent.

The inhabitants of Reggio, the capital of southern Calabria, and of Messina, were the first to grow impatient to throw off the heavy yoke, and to shed their blood in the holy cause.

Mamiani and Massari wrote to advise me to ask permission from the King of Sardinia to go to Genoa. Though Piedmont

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was still without a constitution, yet it had a king who was anxious to see the Austrians driven out of Italy. Carlo Alberto promised me the permission I requested, but he was turned aside from the fulfilment of his promise by a note which his ministers received from the Austrian Government, who had been informed of my demand, and objected to my presence in Genoa.

At this time I received a note from London, from Count Carlo Pepoli, containing the praises which the whole of Great Britain, beginning with the ministers of state, together with the United States of America, gave to the marvellous conduct of Pius IX. I sent this note to my friend Count Pietro Ferretti. He read it to the Pope, his cousin, who appeared sincerely delighted by it. Ferretti, on seeing this, observed that the letter came from General Pepe, to which the Holy Father replied, "I remember him well, when his head

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quarters were at Sinigaglia; he often visited my family;" he then added, "You may tell him that I highly esteem his merit as a General, and his patriotism, and that I will invite him to come to Rome, as soon as I am in harmony with the King of Naples, who at this moment would be much annoyed to know that General Pepe was in Rome, and so near his territories."

This hope which Pius IX. entertained of being reconciled to the King of Naples, did not prevent the latter from speaking of him as *il pazzo*, rather than as Pope.

Ferdinand II., both in his words and actions, seemed more than averse to making any concessions on either side the Straits, when the Palermitans gave the first shock to his absolute power. The reverses which the royal troops suffered, commanded by Marshal Desauget, produced the most beneficial results in Naples, and contributed towards obtaining a constitution.

The Pope, who was the first cause of all

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the popular demonstrations, both in Rome, Tuscany, and Piedmont, conceded but little; still less was granted by the Grand Duke of Tuscany and the King of Sardinia; and every concession was, as it were, forced from them. Therefore these Princes met with but little gratitude either for the institutions promised, or for the constitutions which were at last given, because they were evidently forced to confer these gifts by the example of the King of Naples, who by character was the most despotic of all the Italian Princes, and yet the first who was compelled in Italy to grant a constitution. The tenacity of Ferdinand to preserve his absolute power entire was such, that Louis Philippe said to the Count of Syracuse—"I have given good advice to your brother the King, but if he does not profit by it, I must abandon him to his fate." The King of the French showed that he understood the political position of others better than his own.

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But if the Sardinian king was slow to make concessions, both he, his ministers, and the persons in place about his court, showed their aversion to the Austrians without disguise. This circumstance, which was most useful in Italian affairs, appeared to me no longer doubtful after I had conversed with the Commandant Ferretti, who arrived in Paris, and related to me, that on going to Turin from Milan, in the quality of a Major on the Austrian retired list, he presented himself to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, accompanied by the minister of Austria. Both were received very coldly; and the Austrian minister said to Ferretti, "This coldness is for me, and not for you." In fact, Ferretti found an invitation to dinner at his house, from the Sardinian minister, who said to him, when he saw him, "How could you think of coming to me accompanied by the Austrian minister?"

Many other anecdotes were told me by

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Ferretti, which proved the hatred of the Piedmontese towards the invaders of Italy.

At the same time, Thiers, from the French tribune, repeated with enthusiasm those affectionate words which the Roman people addressed to Pius IX., exclaiming, "Courage, Holy Father, courage!"

Finally, Lord Holland, who had long lived in Italy, on returning to London from Paris, said to me—"We shall meet again on the other side the Alps." All these circumstances made me consider Italian independence as certain; yet there was then no idea of a French Republic, which unhappily for us had the mission of combating and not of assisting us.

I shall terminate this chapter by a cursory narrative of the first armed movements in Italy, taken from a report which I received from a Calabrese whose mind was the seat of patriotism and truth.

For some time, the two Sicilies had been

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conspiring against despotism, and the first words of Pius IX. ripened in that people, and above all in the ardent Calabrese, the desire of liberty. Some letters written by the secret and revolutionary committee established at Naples, to the patriots in Reggio, hastened a movement. The head of this committee was Dominico Romeo, a native of the district of Reggio, a man of talent and high-toned mind. In August, 1847, he went into Calabria, passing through Messina, where he communicated his intentions to many warm liberals; he thence proceeded to Reggio, and there, on the 2nd September, he made the revolution break out; it was to be seconded by the three Calabrian provinces and by Messina. On that day all the people in Reggio rose, and those among the government functionaries who did not fly, concealed themselves ignominiously.

The small military garrison, comprehending officers of artillery and engineers,

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first shut themselves up in the castle, which was provided with guns for its defence, and afterwards surrendered at discretion, imploring pardon for having served a despotic prince, and soliciting permission to join the national militia, which was refused. The corps of gendarmes also surrendered at discretion, and in two days only, the revolution spread through all the provinces of southern Calabria.

On the same day, the 2nd September, the people who had taken up arms under the banner of the Italian tricolor, proclaimed a provisional government, composed of seven among the principal chiefs of the liberal party, who were the first in wealth and uprightness. A programme was published; in this, the idea of one of the members of the new government prevailed, by which the movement of the day was connected with the traditions of 1820 and 1821. The programme was conceived in these terms:—

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"*Reggio to the Provinces of Naples and Sicily.*

"Faithful to our promises, we have hoisted the tricoloured flag of Italian independence, amid overpowering shouts of 'Viva the constitutional King Ferdinand II.! Viva liberty!' The constitution of 1820, so happily obtained, so spontaneously sworn to, was afterwards violated, betrayed, and destroyed by foreigners. How many citizens during the past twenty-seven years, in vainly attempting to restore it, have with their blood purchased that martyrdom which their memory has made sacred to us.

"Brothers, to arms! Let us remember the blood of our Martyrs! Strong in numbers, union, and will, faithful to former contracts, we will hasten towards the capital of the kingdom, where we are confidently expected.

"Like other civilised nations, we desire a constitutional, representative govern-

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ment, supported by a truly national force, and with all the guarantees which insure liberty and equality before the law. Fellow countrymen of the two kingdoms, do you, too, fulfil your promises. Run to arms, second our patriotism. Let us show all Europe that we are worthy of the name of a nation, that all our thoughts centre in that of becoming free; and let our motto ever be, 'Long live Italian independence and liberty.'

"Reggio, *2nd September*, 1847."

Here follow the signatures of the citizens composing the provisional government.

At the same time, as well as the shortness of the time would permit, the citizens were organised into a national militia, and the provisional government made arrangements to take the fortresses of Pegro, Alta, Fiumara, and Torre Cavallo, together with those which guarded the Straits of Messina. The object of this was twofold; to shut the

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entrance of the Straits against any expedition from Naples, and to give confidence to the Messenians, whose insurrection (commenced the 1st of September), though vigorously sustained in repeated encounters between the citizens and the troops, was nevertheless repressed by the multitude of the royal forces. The insurgent masses at Messina had been repulsed, according to the current accounts, because they had not succeeded in getting into their power General Landi, the Commandant of the citadel, and at least a part of the officers of the garrison.

King Ferdinand, receiving intelligence by telegraph of the revolution in Reggio, instantly dispatched a corps of troops under the orders of De Corne, with precise commands to bombard every place which resisted.

The government of Reggio not having succeeded in time in getting possession of the forts which guard the Straits, a steam

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frigate entered without opposition, with the troops on board, who arrived before the city of Reggio and began to bombard it.

Unhappily, the counsel to save the city from the evils of a bombardment prevailed, and the armed bands were therefore ordered to retire towards the mountains, and defend themselves there. At the same time they expected news of the masses in the contiguous provinces, where the population, terrified by the hostile preparations of the government, remained immovable, and thus failing in their promises, they became responsible for all the misfortunes to which their fellow countrymen who had first taken up arms were exposed. These found themselves alone, exposed at once to the assaults of the soldiers, the gendarmerie, and, what was worse, of the Urban guard (a numerous corps, acquainted with the localities, and composed of men devoted to Del Caretto), and these corps formed altogether a numerous body. The

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bands of Reggio, at the sight of so much adversity, were disheartened, and thus this revolutionary movement, instead of advancing, receded.

True it is, that some of the populations in the countries watered by the Gonio had responded to Reggio, but they were immediately opposed by General Nunziante, who, disembarking at Palma, crossed the mountains with the troops he commanded.

And here begin the days of struggle and of terror. The denunciation of a police agent, or a gendarme, was sufficient to cause hundreds of respectable citizens to be dragged to prison. Every kind of torture and atrocity was employed against them. An order from the agents of government placed eighteen citizens of the best families out of the pale of the law; and to excite the zeal of their persecutors, 1000 ducats were promised to whomsoever should arrest one of these alive, and 500 to whomsoever should take them dead. This

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iniquitous and brutal ordinance was signed by Prince Aci Catina, who commanded in Upper Calabria. Nor was the persecution limited to the eighteen comprised in the list, for a youth of seventeen years of age, named Fati, who had no other fault than having been born in the community of St. Stefano, the country of Romeo, without any form of trial, was shot. Three other individuals suffered the same fate, Favaro, Giuffre, and Ferruzano, all three perfectly innocent. More than a hundred other victims would have experienced the same death, if a Calabrese lady, named Caterina di Lieto, born at Cavassa, had not hastened to Naples, and presented herself to the Bourbon, to obtain a suspension of the execution of the sentence of death, which the military commission had pronounced against her husband. This occasioned the suspension of all the other capital condemnations as well. But such was the thirst for blood in the satellites of the King,



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that the decreed suspension could not save Bello, Mazzoni, Ruffo, Salvatori, or Verduci, all five in the flower of their age; of noble and generous natures, and belonging to five of the best families in the district of Geraci.

The end of Dominico Romeo was extremely tragical; finding himself seriously ill, he concealed himself in a cottage with his nephew Pietro. The Urban guards of Pedavoli had notice given them of this, and eighty of them went to arrest him. In the midst of a desperate defence, Dominico received a mortal stroke in his breast, which was amply avenged by his nephew Pietro, who with his musket brought his uncle's murderer to the ground. The Urban guards seeing that it would not be possible to take Dominico alive to the judges, for he was dying, cut off his head, which they placed upon a pole, and carried it in triumph through the streets of Reggio. Forty among those who were condemned

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for political offences were mingled with many convicted malefactors, and sent to Naples, where they were chained in couples and placed in the Darseno, under the eyes of the King.

Thus ended the first peninsular movement, which was followed by much bloodshed. Its sole aim was Italian independence. The Calabrese who first took it up showed great vigour and a contempt of life which was worthy of better fortune. So much courage only added to the ignominious barbarity with which they were treated by their victors, the prince and his satellites.

In 1799 Cardinal Ruffo, armed with a cross and a sword, came from Calabria to drive out of the kingdom the French who had arrived with promises of liberty. Their promises were uncertain, but there is no doubt that they were strangers who wished to give us laws. From Calabria, in 1808, that Carbonaro sect first issued, which was afterwards established in France, and in



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the Spanish peninsula even before 1820, when in conjunction with the army and the civic militia, they aided me in overthrowing absolute power. So in these last circumstances, so unfortunate for Italy, the Calabrese were the first to shed their blood, that the stranger might be driven beyond the Isonzo.

May it still be their fate, and with better fortune, a fourth time to send forth a shout which may resound from Calabria to the Alps, of "Italian independence!"

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## CHAPTER II.

Succinct account of the first Insurrection in the two Sicilies, especially in Naples, where the King is compelled to grant a Constitution.*

As soon as Pius IX. was elevated to the chair of St. Peter, he commenced his career by an amnesty, and then proceeded by degrees to other reforms. This liberal policy, on the part of the Pontiff, moved the minds of the Italians, and it became clearly impossible that the old institutions in the peninsula should long remain unchanged. Leopold Duke of Tuscany, and then Charles Albert, were the first to follow the Pope's example, and to concede some reforms.

Ferdinand II. of Naples alone remained unmoved in his despotism, and he repeated

* This chapter has been dictated by a Neapolitan citizen of note.

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to his intimates that he should follow the policy of his ancestors; adding, that in the kingdom of Naples, these institutions which were so much wanted, had long been established by his predecessors, who called themselves reformers. Certainly in the kingdom of Naples, there were provincial and district councils; there was a council of state, and good laws both civil and criminal. But these institutions were corrupted and spoilt by the bad faith of an absolute government, which in the choice of its magistrates and public functionaries, constantly inclined to the dishonest, the servile, and the ignorant; so that in defining the government of Naples it might truly be said, *that there was a constant contradiction between law and facts.*

It is incontestable that good institutions perish in the hands of a corrupt and ignorant administration, while even bad ones may fructify when administered by able and honest functionaries. Thus, justice, in

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Naples, was a vain word; innocence was no defence, and faults were often unpunished.

By the side of a criminal law which prescribes the greatest consideration for the accused, and an unlimited liberty of defence, were found commissaries of police, who subjected even those accused of common misdemeanors to the greatest violence and intolerable tortures; much worse than were prescribed by the ancient criminal laws; these were at least regulated by certain conditions, while those depended entirely on the arbitrary ferocity of a single man.

Pius IX.'s reforms, contrasted with the Vandal government of Naples, rendered the people, who are by nature fervent lovers of liberty, most impatient. In southern Calabria, which has Reggio for its capital, the absolute government of Ferdinand was abolished, and a constitutional one proclaimed.

The city of Messina responded to this

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movement, but both were repressed by brute force, and with the odious circumstances related in the last chapter.

These cruelties and enormities rather excited than frightened the Neapolitans. Frequent tumultuous demonstrations took place in the capital; they were not diminished either by frequent imprisonments, or by the deaths and wounds which occurred in collisions between the liberals and the armed force and police.

The 12th of January, which was the King's birthday, was at hand. The Sicilians, and especially the Palermitans, had already sent to the King to say that they should have recourse to arms, if liberal institutions were not granted them before that day. They were true to their word; seeing on the 12th that all their hopes were vain, the Palermitans commenced the conflict. The King of Naples immediately despatched two steam frigates, and about five thousand men under the com-

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mand of General Desauget to Palermo. The column which formed the expedition was ill commanded; the Sicilians fought with unanimity and valour, and compelled the royal troops to re-embark. The news of the Sicilian movement greatly excited the Neapolitans, who considered it a sacred duty to assist their Sicilian brothers, which they did in the following manner.

The flag of liberty was hoisted in the province of Salerno at Lilento, and nearly 10,000 men armed themselves under different chiefs, with an understanding that they were to go on augmenting their force, and then march on the capital and force the King to grant a constitution.

But neither the revolution in Sicily, which gained strength by the advantage gained over the royal troops, nor the insurrection in the province of Salerno, had yet moved the mind of the King; he still hoped to conquer and repress the revolt.

But events followed in Naples, which

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decided the King to grant the constitution. The liberals of the city, seeing that the different movements, so happily begun, had hitherto produced no results, met together, and after alarming the government with various demonstrations, they assembled to the number of 20,000 men on the 27th of January, in order to overthrow the absolute power.

On the morning of the 27th, at eleven o'clock a.m. in the piazza before the Royal Palace, and in the Toledo as far as the piazza Mercatello, were assembled about 20,000 liberals of the capital. Near the church of St. Ferdinando, close to the palace, were heard the first cries of *Viva la costituzione!* which with the rapidity of lightning were repeated through the immense multitude, which then proceeded with measured step and tricoloured banners flying, while the ladies from the windows and balconies received them with joyous acclamations.

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After this triumphal procession had lasted about an hour, the cavalry were ordered out, commanded by Marshal Statella. At the sight of this armed force, these generous youths, who were unarmed, stood firm. They even went up to the cavalry, and surrounding Marshal Statella, invited him to cry *Viva la costituzione!* Neither Statella nor the cavalry repressed these joyous shouts, and their countenances showed that the King would not refuse the ardent wishes of the Neapolitans. The Marshal went with the procession to the Royal Palace, and the joyful people retired.

In this interval, the ministers had assembled in council: in consequence of this popular movement, they saw the impossibility of pursuing a despotic course, and they became as humble and yielding, as they had previously been proud and untractable.

The general opinion was, that they must yield to the haughty attitude of the people;

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and the King himself, hitherto immoveable, saw the necessity of political concessions. The ministers all gave in their resignation, which was accepted; and in the course of the night, Serra Capriola was entrusted with the task of forming a constitutional ministry. On the evening of the 27th, the streets were thronged with groups of young men, discussing the position of the country, and they determined on going armed to the piazza and forcing the government to resign.

Some days before this, the Minister of Police, Carretto, had been banished the kingdom; by his severe and tyrannical measures he had made enemies of the people, and had hastened the political revolution.

Early on the 28th, the determination of the government to yield began to be known. The resignation of the ministry was placarded on the walls, with the formation of a new one, consisting of Serra

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Capriola, Buonomni, the Prince of Torella, Dentice, Ciarciulli, and the consultatore Scavazzi, a Sicilian. Ciarciulli not having accepted, Francesco Paulo Bozzelli was substituted in his place. The choice of Bozzelli excited universal applause, and seemed in itself more than a constitution. The confidence felt in him could not be misplaced, the acts of his whole life were highly honourable. A liberal since 1820, when he went into banishment, after the nine months' duration and the fall of the constitution became a signal for tyranny, he was imprisoned and exiled, and lived poor and without reproach in a foreign land. On being restored to his country, he lived surrounded by the esteem of his fellow citizens, and followed his profession of an advocate in order to give himself the means of existence. To this may be added the fame he acquired by many works on literature and constitutional law and his constant attach-

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ment, even after the sorrows of exile, to the liberal party; so much so, that he awakened the suspicions of despotism, and was imprisoned again in 1844, together with Carlo Poërio, Aspareti Graziosi, Primicerio, De Agostini and others, and was detained in prison many months. And yet this man, who gave such promise, and on whom so much hope was founded, was one of the chief causes of the misfortunes of Italy; united to the illiberal government, he became at once a courtier and a hostage;—he prepared and matured the reaction against the great idea of Italian nationality; he destroyed the constitution, and caused the war of independence to fail, by blindly and vilely seconding the views of King Ferdinand, in whom the Jesuit and the Austrian were combined.

It was no fault in the Neapolitans to have confided in him, for their trust seemed well founded; it was wholly the fault of Bozzelli, who thus belied him-

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self, by denying every principle of his past life.

On the morning of the 29th, the promise of the constitution and its outline were published. In a few days the constitution itself, drawn up by Bozzelli, appeared. It was, with few variations, an exact copy of the French constitution, within the narrow bounds of which he had received his political education. Though the form of the government was changed, the substance remained the same; the public functionaries were unaltered, with this difference, that, before the constitution, they were, if not revered, at least respected; after the constitution they were despised and vituperated. Besides the many causes which produced our ruin, there was one which was most fatal in its effects. By his constitution, Bozzelli had invested the nation with political rights, but he had not foreseen, that other laws were necessary to guard the exercise of those rights.

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For example, the censorship of the press was abolished, without any provision being made to guard against its delinquencies, which were sure to abound after this sudden emancipation. No committee was instituted with powers to act until the constitution was adapted to the country, and to prevent the evils likely to result from too rapid a passage from absolutism to liberty.

Yet this constitution of the 29th of January 1848, changed the political position, not only of Sicily, but of the whole peninsula. Naples, which gave to Italy the first example of a constitutional government, might also have decided the expulsion of the Austrians, which was more essential than constitutions or republics, if the unhappy events of the 15th May, as we shall hereafter see, had not given the King and his iniquitous ministers courage to recall the army from the right bank of the Po.

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## CHAPTER III.

The Author not included in the Amnesty at Naples.—Extension of the Amnesty, which finally permits him to return to his country.—French Republic foreseen by no one.—Opinion of Lamartine on the assistance to be given to Italy.—The Author leaves Paris.—Arrival in Genoa.—News on arriving there.

SCARCELY was the promised constitution in Naples made known, when my friends, my acquaintances, and even myself, did not doubt that I should return there. Mrs. Gilchrist and her sister, English ladies who had known me twenty-seven years, that is, since my first arrival in London, and who had been my constant friends, came to me, and, moved even to tears, exclaimed, "You are then no longer proscribed!" To celebrate my new position, they gave a banquet, to which they invited almost all the Italians in Paris. A few hours before I went to the entertainment,



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I received from Naples a printed copy of the constitution, from which my name was excluded; and in order that it might be so, the King had punished only the state criminals of the revolution in 1820; that is to say, he remembered the old and forgot the more recent culprits. Not to disturb the joy of the banquet, I concealed the royal decree which confirmed my exile. I afterwards heard from Naples, that the patriots, with Carlo Poërio at their head, raised such clamours on account of this scandal, as to bring about an extension of the constitution, and when it was definitively promulgated, all political delinquents were included.

I was thus once more free to return to my country about the time at which the kingdom of France was transformed into a republic.

If either kings or people were capable of profiting by what they see and read, the former would be persuaded, that in spite

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of the force which sustains their authority they are liable to fall; and the latter would know that it is more difficult to uphold a revolution, than to make one.

For the moment let me forget Italy, where I may soon return, and speak of France, or rather of Paris, which represents it, and where I have been domiciled eighteen years. During that time I had kept away from festal assemblies, from drawing-rooms, and even from theatres, for my heart, ever riveted to my unhappy country, sought no such diversion. I saw but a few chosen acquaintances and friends, whose conversation sometimes consoled my afflicted mind. Several of these were no longer alive, as La Fayette, Haxo, Valasé, Lamarque. I had been intimate with the aged Sièyes of the convention, Barrère, Benjamin Constant, Carelli, and James Lafitte. Among the living there remained Lamennais, Thibeaudau the conventionalist, Arago, Béranger, Mignet, Odillon



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Barrot, Lamartine, the Duke d'Harcourt. I remember the political opinions of all on their own country, and there were few who thought alike. I believe there is no nation in Europe, in which men of superior intellect vary so much in their political sentiments as in France. I always recollect a sentence of Arago, the astronomer, spoken about three years ago, when he did me the favour of dining with me in company with the elder Thibeaudau, Lamennais, and Mamiani. Speaking of the wretched government of Louis Philippe, and the sad condition of France since that king had ascended the throne, Arago said, "Unhappily he is supported by the powerful aristocracy of the bourgeoisie and the shopkeepers, who by their numbers are more powerful than the aristocracy of the nobles," and all echoed this opinion.

In the meantime February arrived, with a revolution which was foreseen neither by those who deprecated, nor by those who

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desired a change, and still less by the King himself. A few days before, Louis Philippe had said to the President of the Chamber, "Rather than extend the electoral franchise, I will change ministers twenty times, and will place my veto on the twenty-first."

A short time before the 24th of February, Lamartine said to me, "Count Molé came to see me yesterday; we talked of a change of ministry which he was to make." The same day, I found Béranger at Lamennais' house, talking over the events of the moment. Lamennais was firmly convinced that, after Louis Philippe, no other government than a republic would be possible; he added, that though events were marching rapidly, he could not foresee the final crisis with certainty, that is, whether it would precede or follow the death of the King. Revolutions being prepared by a certain invisible process in the secret depths of men's minds, their execution depends on an instantaneous concord of

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divers causes, and a spontaneous combination of will and power, the production of which is ever determined by unforeseen circumstances, and escapes all forecast respecting the precise moment in which it will be effected.

It is known to all, that if the Duchess of Orleans had mounted her horse on the morning of the 24th of February, accompanied by Odillon Barrot, or if, on the same morning, she had gone to the Chamber of Deputies only an hour earlier than she presented herself there, she would have been proclaimed Regent; two instances of the accidents on which our social destinies depend.

In the evening of the 24th, I went to see Odillon Barrot, who had always a small circle round him. I found him wearied with the fatigues of the day. He said to me, "I am punished for my victory." In truth, every one was surprised to see him excluded from the new government, while

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the most decisive impulsion given to the revolution was certainly given by him. Two or three days later he said to me, "I shall go and ask you for an asylum in Naples."

I visited Lamartine at the ministry of foreign affairs. On seeing me he said, "*Embrassons nous*," and I embraced him, assuring him that he was the first great poet of our times, who had given such unequivocal proofs of courage; and I added, "You did not throw away your sword in Philip's camp." A few days later, Lamartine, before going to the council of ministers, said to me, in the presence of two veteran generals, "France is disposed to send 100,000 men to Italy, to favour her independence." I answered that 30,000 would be sufficient, in order to connect the Sardinian forces with the Neapolitan, and with the few troops to be found in the Tuscan and Roman States.

In the meantime, in one of the articles

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of the enlarged Neapolitan constitution, drawn up by Bozzelli, and sworn to by the King, as I have before pointed out, it is clearly said, that a veil was to be thrown over all past political events. Wherefore, my brother Florestano wrote to me that I was expected with impatience by all; at the same time he counselled me not to give up my house in Paris, or to sell my furniture. What cold precaution! Was this the same brother who twenty-seven years before, uncertain whether I should be able to reach constitutional Spain, and seeing me in danger of falling into the hands of the Austrians, wrote to bid me remember that I had a pair of pistols with me? But now, who could foresee that fortune would thus scoff at Italian liberty? Placing my faith more in the French Republic than in the oaths of our princes, I prepared to depart, leaving my house and furniture to be disposed of.

I saw the excellent Arago, Minister of

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Marine, who was also well disposed to assist Italy. But, for some time past, I had renewed my acquaintance with the Duke d'Harcourt, whom I had formerly met at the house of my dear friend General Haxo. D'Harcourt was distinguished at once for his patriotism and for his love of Italy. In the conviction that he would not now be left idle, I begged him to give the preference to the Roman embassy, from whence he would have the means of aiding the good cause. I repeated the same wish to Lamartine, who told me that he desired to send d'Harcourt to London. I instantly repaired to the latter, and begged him to give the preference to Rome. He was, in fact, named ambassador to the Pontiff, and from Rome he wrote to me in Venice.

It never came into my mind, that, in the council of ministers at Naples, Savaresi would be directed by the King to send a steam-frigate to Marseilles, in order to convey me to Naples.

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On the 16th of March, I quitted Paris, grieved at parting from a few excellent and affectionate friends, and before the end of the month, I embarked on a steamer which transported me to Genoa. The only previous occasion on which I had seen those shores, was at the early age of sixteen, when I was driven into exile, and my property confiscated. This happened in 1799. We were three hundred proscripts in all, in two vessels. After landing at Marseilles, I had then walked to Dijon, and crossed the Great St. Bernard with the glorious Italian legion, which distinguished itself so much at Marengo. At that early age the beauty of the country made but little impression on my mind, but now, after forty-nine years, I admired it exceedingly. In the midst of this admiration, my thoughts wandered alternately between the past and the present. But I had scarcely set foot in Genoa, when news was brought me which made the new social

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scenes much more marvellous than the past. In Berlin, in Vienna, liberty had been proclaimed: the people of those vast states had risen, and overthrown their despotic governments. To these strange events was added the revolution in Milan, in which a people almost entirely unarmed, had driven out 22,000 Austrians, commanded by their General-in-chief in person, and supported by a citadel. Finally, I heard of the revolution in Venice, and the expulsion of the Austrians from the Lagoon.

It seemed like a dream to hear of these marvellous acts of vigour, which, for the third time, were exclusively performed by Italians. The population of Naples alone, in the time of Massaniello, drove out the Spaniards from the capital; and the Genoese did the same by the Austrians just a century ago. Venice, and afterwards Brescia, also drove the enemy from their cities. Did the cities of Spain, France, England,

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Germany, Poland, or Russia ever dare as much? Madrid rose against Murat, but was subdued by that valorous leader.

These unexpected events in France, Germany, and Italy, seemed to me favourable to Italian independence, which now, I thought, we should have but small merit in acquiring. The revolt of Palermo and Naples had been brought about by natives against natives, though the royal troops were supported by Swiss mercenaries. Of the two revolutions beyond the Po, that of Milan was the most vigorous, the most manly, the most gigantic; that of Venice was the most extraordinary.

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## CHAPTER IV.

### THE FIVE DAYS' REVOLUTION IN MILAN.

"No; even tyranny has its limits! When the oppressed no longer find justice on the earth, when their yoke is become insupportable, let them, full of faith, stretch their hands towards heaven, and draw down from thence those eternal rights, which there remain unalienable, indestructible as the stars! Let them return to that primitive state of nature in which man encounters man; when no other means avail, that supreme resource remains, and the sword becomes lawful." SCHILLER.—*William Tell.*

AUSTRIA, which during so many years had governed by political and religious hypocrisy, finally threw off the mask. In Ferrara, the imperial soldiers brutally outraged the Pontifical flag; Pius IX. was punished for having blessed Italy, and cursed its tyrants. The Lombardo-Venetian provinces, condemned to ignorance and progressive impoverishment, daily saw the source of all public and private prosperity withered and weakened.

In the space of a few years, two thousand millions (a fabulous sum, when the

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size of our territory, not more than an eighth of the monarchy, is considered)—*two thousand millions* had been buried in the imperial treasury, to our great misfortune, and without real advantage for the finances of the empire; such is the ignorance and corruption which in Austria rule public affairs! Everywhere commerce languished, hampered as it was by the fetters of prohibitive laws, and enormous taxes; while on the other hand, smuggling increased excessively, and was one, though not the only cause, of the universal immorality. There were no longer any cannon founderies; nor manufactories of arms, or of linen cloth. Native industry was ever sacrificed to that of its rivals, Austria, Moravia, and Bohemia. No encouragement was given to agriculture, the principal source of municipal wealth. The delays of the administration were incredible, and lawsuits eternal. The conscription was intolerable! Every year the

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flower of our youths were transported into Hungary, Moravia, Bohemia, and latterly into Gallicia. Talent was either bought by the police, shackled by the censorship laws, or left to die in chains. Information, that social disgrace, owed its growth to Austria, and this horrid pest had penetrated into the very heart, and corrupted the very marrow, of society. There were spies in the piazze, spies in the cafés, in the theatres, in the churches, in the most intimate family privacy. Many honoured citizens, because they were suspected by the government, without other reason, were imprisoned; many were, from the same motive, torn from the sanctuary of their homes, and sent as exiles into a foreign land. Nor did Austrian oppression stop here. Marshal Radetzky was superior to the police. Despised by us for his ridiculous airs, he revenged himself for our contempt by hating us mortally. The soldiers knew this, and the excesses of

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military insolence towards the peaceful citizens in Milan had attained their highest pitch, when the bloody scenes of January, 1848, took place.

It was then that Austria, throwing off all decency, inaugurated in Lombardy the *giudiccio statario*, which authorised the government to assassinate in the space of two hours; and, for the prudent delays of the law, substituted the blind impetus of brute force.

Lombardy was in this miserable condition in March 1848. On one side, the cup of Austrian cruelties was full to overflowing! on the other, incessant injuries had tried forbearance too severely, and provoked vengeance. The Lombard people raged like a wounded lion—and this rage broke forth like the noise of an approaching tempest.

H. Fiquelmont had said, and history will take note of his words, "I have in my hands an infallible means of making the

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good Milanese forget their idol Pius IX., and their wishes for national independence, which they have lately manifested in their puerile demonstrations; the Carnival is approaching, and I will then give a grand entertainment in the Theatre della Scala."

Marshal Radetzky on his side published the following order of the day:—

"H. M. the Emperor, being determined to defend the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom, as well as every other part of his dominions, from all attacks of the enemy, whether internal or external, according to his rights and his duty, has permitted me, through the means of Marshal di Corte, charged with this message, to make known to all the troops of the Imperial army who are now in Italy, this determination, persuaded that his high will must meet with the most efficacious support in the valour and fidelity of the army. Soldiers!



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you hear the words of the Emperor, which I am proud to make known to you: the evil counsels of fanatics, and the faithless spirit of innovation, will be broken by your valour and fidelity, like *fragile glass against a rock.*

"Soldiers! the sword which for sixty-five years I have wielded with honour in so many battles, is still ready for action, and I shall know how to use this sword to defend the tranquillity of a country lately so happy, and now menaced with misery by a fanatic faction. Soldiers! your Emperor esteems you, your old leader trusts in you, and this suffices! May the Heavens not compel us to unfurl the banner of the two-headed Eagle! The strength of its claws is not weakened. Let this be our motto: Peace and protection to faithful subjects; Death to those who dare with a traitorous hand to disturb order, and endanger the prosperity of the people."

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On the 17th of March the terrified Viceroy moved precipitately towards Verona. The avaricious Archduke collected all his movables, and turned his back on us. His magnificent palaces at Milan and Monza were stripped of their furniture. He fled, carrying our spoils along with him! The governor, Spucer, and the minister, Fiquelmont, had preceded him in his flight, having departed some days before towards Vienna.

On the 17th of March, intelligence had arrived at Milan of an insurrection in Vienna. This news was like a spark applied to a powder-magazine; the popular effervescence in a moment assumed gigantic proportions! On this account, on the morning of Sunday, the ice being broken, the following proclamation was placarded on the walls:—

"The President of H. I. M. government thinks it his duty to publish the following



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news, contained in a telegraphic despatch dated Vienna, 13th inst., which arrived the same day at Cilli, and at Milan yesterday evening.

"H. M. the Emperor has determined to abolish the censorship, and to publish without delay a law on the press, as well as to convoke the States of the kingdom, both German and Slavonic, and also the central Congregations of the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom. The meeting will be held on the 3rd of next July at latest.

"CONTE O'DONNELL.

"MILAN, 18*th March*, 1848." "*Vice-President.*"

These words, "*The meeting will be held on the 3rd of next July at latest,*" seemed an insult to the just impatience of the generous city, which only saw in these ill-advised words an artifice to conjure away present difficulties, and not a promise of future concessions. The perturbation of men's minds was therefore universal; large

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crowds assembled in the piazza of the Cathedral, in that of Mercanti, and at the Corsie de' Servi; their attitude was menacing, though they were unarmed.

Towards midday the crowd of citizens precipitated themselves towards the municipal palace, shouting, "*Arms and a civic guard.*"

The Conte Casati, Podestà of Milan, endeavoured to govern the multitude, counselling moderation and respect for the laws: they demanded a leader, and the Podestà put himself at their head, and, accompanied by the municipal and provincial corps, he conducted them to the Governor's palace.

But what human force can arrest the torrent which has burst its banks? Behind the Podestà came the furious masses. The first victims of the Lombard revolution were the two Hungarian grenadiers, who were on guard at the Governor's palace; they were killed with daggers, their com-

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rades disarmed, and the palace invaded by the multitude, who religiously respected private property; but all public property, as re-calling an abhorred government, was destroyed.

The timid councillors had saved themselves by flight, but Conte O'Donnell, the head of the government in the absence of the Governor, had not been able to fly like the rest; finding himself in a dangerous predicament, his gestures expressed humility, and this time the vocabulary of the courtier found words to address the people directly. "*I will do what you wish! what you wish!*"

"*Down with the police! A civic guard,*" cried the multitude. "Yes, you are right, down with the police; yes, the civic guard;" the magistrate replied tremblingly. "We will have it written," replied the people, and the poor Conte, in an agony of fear, signed the following decree, which a few hours later was published at the municipality:—

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"MILAN, 18*th March*, 1848.

"The Vice-president, seeing the necessity of maintaining order, authorises the municipality to arm the civic guard.

"CONTE O'DONNELL."

"The guard of the police will give up their arms to the municipality immediately.

"CONTE O'DONNELL."

"The direction of the police is abandoned; and the security of the city is confided to the municipality.

"CONTE O'DONNELL."*

The volcano had broken forth, and the burning lava of insurrection spread into every quarter of the heroic city. Every where the popular cry rose up to Heaven. "*Long live Pius IX. Long live independence and Italy!*"

* See the Last Five Days of the Austrians in Milan : relation and reminiscences of citizen Ignazio Cantù.

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Delicate women and tender children were seen tearing up the stones in the roads, and carrying them into their houses, to throw on the heads of their assailants. Some prepared oil, some boiling water; some sharpened their knives, or got ready their fowling-pieces, some a simple stick with an iron point. Hundreds of barricades arose in the city, while at the windows of the citizens waved, as on a day of rejoicing, the tri-coloured banner.

The fire of musketry commenced; the cannon roared from the castle; the bells of the city responded by sounding a peal.

Besides the castle and the gates of the town, Radetzky occupied some strong positions in the heart of the city. Suddenly a detachment of Bohemian infantry surrounded the Broletto, where a great concourse of people were demanding arms from the municipal magistrate. The populace was dispersed, and many honourable citizens taken prisoners on this occasion, and the

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following night they were conducted to the castle, and retained there as hostages.*

The dawn of the 19th was rainy; as yet the people had neither arms nor ammunition, but nothing could damp the impetuosity of their rage. The enemy occupied the Duomo and the contiguous piazza. From time to time the Austrians discharged their muskets, but fortunately with small havoc. But frequent shots were fired from the top of the Marine Cathedral, where many of the Tyrolese infantry were placed. These were expert marksmen, whose shots told. But this did not intimidate the courage of the people, who persevered, and the third day they were masters of the Duomo, the piazza, and the Viceregal palace in spite of the artillery which defended them.

The office of the police was taken by

* The two brothers Porro, pupils of Silvio Pellico; their cousin Carlo Porro; Alberto de Herra; Ercole Durini; the delegate Bellati; Giani, secretary of the municipality; Manzoni, son of Alexander; Dr. Peluso; Ignazio Cantù; a Brambilla; an Ubicini; a Visconti; a Belgiojoso; Fortis; Crippa; Appiani, &c. &c.

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assault. Search was made for Toresani the director, but he had disappeared: Conte Bosso, the most hated of the police-staff, had also escaped. It was said that both one and the other had fled from Milan the preceding night.

The Piazza de' Mercanti was well guarded by cannon and troops: after a fierce contest it was taken, as well as the Criminal Court. By a decree of the municipality the political prisons were opened, and amidst the applause of the multitude came forth the Marchese Villani, young Camperio, the Abbate Brambilla, the student Amorra, with Salvioni, Bergazzi, Mavezza, and many others.

Some barracks were taken, as well as the station of the engineers. There a bold populace, careless of the Austrian balls, ventured up to the doors and set fire to them; an heroic deed for which the name of *Pasquale Sottocorni* will long be remembered in Milan.

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There was a fierce combat at the barracks of St. Celso, an imperial college of cadets. A cannon planted there made terrible havoc among the citizens, and in the surrounding edifices. For two days the neighbouring houses, struck by the guns, were in a tottering state. An assault was determined on, and thanks to a movable parapet, composed of faggots and other yielding materials, the assailants triumphed without great loss. In this encounter the Marchese Trivulzio was wounded in the leg.

A voice cried out, "To St. Antonio!" and the third police district, and the prefecture of the city, fell into the hands of the people. From thence they rushed to St. Simone, and then to the general barracks of the police. The gate was partly fortified, and the defenders amounted to eight hundred men. They fought the whole of that day and the following night. The gate was taken and burnt. The multitude broke into

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the barracks, whence the police had fled by a secret door. Some of these rascals, who had concealed themselves in the cellars, were discovered, and confined with the other prisoners.

On the 20th, at one o'clock p. m., the municipality, preserving its ancient name, constituted itself into a provisional government, and on the same day it issued a series of revolutionary decrees; and several subaltern committees were named to watch over personal security, the supplies of the city, finances, war, and the public defence. At the same time the desired decree was issued for the organisation of the civic guard in the several parishes.

The citizens from twenty to sixty years of age enrolled themselves with emulation on the parochial lists. Arms, though insufficient for their wants, were furnished from the soldiers that had been captured, and from the conquered barracks; and here in honour of truth it must be said,

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that in the ranks of our combatants were seen some gendarmes, the fine corps of firemen, and all the finance guard, besides the Italian soldiers who, as they went out of the castle, came over to us singly.

In spite of the heroism of the citizens, the city became a field of battle, where balls, shells, and missiles of every calibre fell on all sides, and rendered our condition desperate. The necessity of foreign assistance was urgent, and a proclamation was thrown from the wall, drawn up in the following terms:—

"*To the Cities and Communes of the Lombardo-Venetian Kingdom.*

"Milan for two days victorious, but *almost without arms*, is surrounded by humbled, but still formidable soldiers.

"We throw this page from the walls to call on all the cities and communes to arm, and immediately to form a civic guard, meeting in the parishes, as has been done

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in Milan, and organised in companies of fifty men each, from whom a captain and a purveyor should be elected, to hasten wherever the necessity of defence demands."

Other proclamations were spread about by means of balloons, launched by the war committee. One of these was as follows:—

"Brothers! Fortune smiles on us. Austria vanquished, still maintains her footing only in the castle and from the bastions. Hasten hither! Let a gate of the city be taken between two fires; united we shall conquer."

The Croats, who guarded the bastions, seeing with wonder these flying messengers, directed a useless fire of musketry against them. Some of these balloons fell beyond the Swiss confines, others on the

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Sardinian territories, and in those of Piacenza. The people were everywhere aroused, and thousands of citizens, headed by students in medicine, by ecclesiastics, by financiers, hastily advanced towards Milan. From the tops of the steeples might be seen, here and there, troops passing the fields and rice grounds, while other bodies were thrown out on the roads, and attacked the Austrian cavaliers who were wandering in the fields, with the fire of their fowling-pieces. Five hundred men came to us from Italian Switzerland: joined to the mountaineers of the Lake of Como and to the youths of Comasia, they made 1,200 Croats prisoners. Spreading revolt on their road, and fighting again at Monza, they reached our walls on the north side, where they encountered two other columns; one of these had taken thirty prisoners at Varese, the other came from the shores of Lake Maggiore. Another column was moving from the banks

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of the Po. One of their leaders, Signor Gui, was killed under the bastions, and Trabuchi, the father of a family, a poor but honourable man, was taken on this occasion, and basely shot at Lodi. A committee of war, constituted at Lecco, established a military organisation in the Valteline, the Valsassine, and in Brianza. Bergamo sent some hundreds of its citizens and its mountaineers. Girolamo Borgazzi, inspector of the railroad of Monza, came with 2,000 men the following day; he penetrated into Milan to ask instructions from the war committee, and it was concerted that on the 4th day, a double assault should be made against the bastions of the gate Tosa, near the railroad to Venice, at ten in the evening. But this valiant man, having got out of the city, and put himself at the head of his column, to carry the orders he had received into effect, was mortally wounded by a bullet.

While a brave people were thus fighting

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for their franchises and their independence, the more intelligent part were labouring to find means to finish the unequal conflict happily. The astronomers made observations on the steeple tops, and with their telescopes spied the movements of the enemy, and every hour rendered an account of them to the war committee. Ingenious artifices were used to make cannon of wood, strengthened with hoops of iron, and capable of withstanding a certain number of discharges. The chemists prepared gunpowder and gun cotton. Others melted lead for balls, and others were employed in preparing cartridges. Nor did they fail to pick up the projectiles which the enemy had sent them, among which were found many large medals, with the effigy of Pius IX. on them, this time an emblem of sacrilegious irony.*

During this time, an inn-keeper from

* See the Insurrection of Milan in 1848, by Chas. Cattaneo.



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Corsica, twice got over the walls in the midst of the Austrian balls, to bring news to the municipality. Antonio L——, whom we wished to dissuade from too perilous enterprises, answered with a bold heart, "Balls do not touch those who carry on their foreheads the name of Pius IX." One of our ladies disarmed three police agents; another killed as many Croats; nor was she the only one who distinguished herself by firing off a gun or a carbine. Beardless boys wrenched their bayonets from more than one soldier! Such was the cowardice of the barbarians, who resisted the insurrection. At the Carrobbio, a citizen, who had lost his right hand in the combat, was seen to discharge his gun with the left hand: one of his companions charged it for him, and he fired it repeatedly with wonderful perseverance. A young man who was the first to enter the Vice-regal palace, shouting "*Viva l'Italia!*" was struck by fifteen balls: when almost

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cold, this heroic youth still murmured, "*Viva l'Italia.*" A dying man wrote on the walls with his own blood, "*Courage, brothers!*"—and expired.

Ability and valour were not the only ornaments of our people. The charity shown in Milan during these days was universal. In many houses, the wounded were collected, and expert doctors and surgeons gave them every sort of succour and assistance. Ladies of all ages prepared lint and bandages. The rich distributed bread and wine gratuitously to the poor. The denominations of patricians and people, so senseless in modern times, disappeared, and with them the pride of the one, and the envy of the other. During five days, Milan presented a spectacle which was worthy of the angels, and too beautiful for men! It was truly a city of friends and brothers! And the good Milanese, after beating the Austrians and the Croats, saluted them too with



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the appellation of brothers: if naked they clothed them, if hungry they fed them, if wounded they were placed under the loving care of the sublime city. Their hostages were guests. Among the numerous examples of humanity and moderation which we might cite, we will limit ourselves to one.

The family of Baron Torresani Lanzenfeld, head of the police, remained in our power. This family was treated with the most delicate consideration. Conte Bolza, a noted tool of the police, had not succeeded in escaping: he hid himself in a hay-loft, like a wolf pursued by hunters. He was dragged from thence by another of these bailiffs, who had discovered the secret of his concealment. The crowd wanted to tear him to pieces. A brave-hearted man said to them, "If in these circumstances you kill him, you will perform a just act; if you do not kill him, you will have performed a holy action;"

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and this magnanimous people touched not a hair of the head of this wretch, who deserved the severest treatment. It was an incontestable fact that our people were as generous as they were terrible in combat, —only too generous in victory!

On the 22nd March, the municipality published the following proclamation:—

"THE armistice offered by the enemy has been refused by us, at the instance of the people, who wish to continue the combat. Let us then fight on with the same courage that has made you conquerors in the struggle these last four days, and will still enable you to conquer."

"Citizens! meet this last assault of your oppressors with steady firmness, and with that confidence which results from the certainty of triumph.

"The country responds festively to the uproar of bombs and cannons; the enemy

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sees that we can combat joyfully, and cheerfully die.

"The country adopts the children of those who are killed in battle, and secures to the wounded gratitude and subsistence.

"Citizens! this announcement is made by the undersigned, who form a provisional government, which was rendered necessary by imperative circumstances, and by the vote of the combatants. They are thus proclaimed: Casati (President), Vitaliano Borromeo, Giuseppe Durini, Pompeo Litta, Gaetano Strigelli, Cesare Giulini, Antonio Beretta, Marco Greppi, Alessandro Porro. "CESARE CORRENTI,

"*Secretary General.*"

Some points of the city were still not taken. The palace of Radetzky was attacked and taken. The soldiers who defended it were disarmed, but their lives were spared. The plate and precious furniture were handed over to the provisional government, in order to be sold for the

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profit of the poor. The military uniform of the Marshal was fastened on a pole, and hoisted in the Piazza Borromeo; his sword, —that famous sword which was to break the insurrection like fragile glass,—was sent to the war committee, while the more massive furniture was employed to form barricades, together with the sumptuous carriages of the imperial court, dragged for this purpose from the church of St. Giovanni, in Como, where they were kept, and transported to the magazines.

On the morning of the 22nd, the principal military post surrendered, though the cannon balls fired from thence committed great havoc on the houses in the street of Biera and Orso, and some even reached as far as the corner of St. Giovanni and the Case Rotte.

One after another, the barracks of St. Fiamesco and St. Vittor Grande were furiously assaulted and taken, after being defended with desperate valour. The

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military hospital of St. Ambrogio also fell into the hands of the victorious people, who were prodigal of care and pity to the 541 sick and wounded there assembled. By the paternal solicitude of the Marshal, these poor soldiers had remained four days without a drop of broth or a morsel of bread.

Austria, expelled from the heart of the city, now only defended the castle and the bastions. It was necessary to drive them from the bastions and make ourselves masters of one of the gates, and thus open a communication between the town and the country. A band of valorous youths, led by Luciano Manare, succeeded in getting possession of the gate Tosa, which was defended by 2000 men and seven guns.

Not long after, our country peasants, seconded by the citizens, forced the gate Camasine. It was then that the Marshal (to whom the hostile intentions of Charles Albert, and the fury of the Piedmontese

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soldiers, and their impatience to measure their strength with the enemies of Italy, were not unknown) decided on saving the army which was hampered and humiliated, and going off to the fortress of Mincio.

Radetzky raised his camp towards the dusk of the evening, and to conceal his retrograde movement, he had all his artillery (consisting of sixty guns) incessantly shifted from place to place, and fired against several houses at the extreme points of the city. A spectacle of sublime error was then seen! The burning edifices sent forth a sinister light. In one moment an immense column of fire rose up from the castle. It seems that the Austrians set fire to a great mass of straw and hay, carriages, and all sorts of household articles, in order to consume their dead bodies, and thus conceal the humiliating proof of their immense losses.

While the thunder of the cannon and the light of the fire attracted the attention

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of the citizens, the imperial army, precipitating their movements, fled through the bastion road; but the Milanese rifles were on the watch, and this time there was no need to spare their fire, for 48,000 pounds of powder had been found in the barracks of the Incoronata. With the aid of the country people, no respite was given to the fugitives; only from time to time, when the enemy pressed on them too closely, the Austrians stopped for an instant, and responded by a discharge: a cordon of innumerable muskets formed a semicircle of fire round the city, where the bells of seventy belfries did not cease to ring.

The flying army dragged along with it its artillery, the wounded, two hundred families of the officers, both civil and military, several hostages, who were exposed to most barbarous treatment, and some thousand Italian soldiers. Symptoms of wavering and hesitation appeared among these unfortunate men, till the cannons

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were pointed against them and their officers, and the word was given—"Germans! forward, or death!" The fugitives had every species of obstacle to overcome, and it took them more than eight hours to get out of the burning circle which enveloped them. At last Radetzky was gone. These five days had cost him not fewer than 5000 men. For the service of seventy guns scarcely five artillery-men remained. So low was the proud old man fallen, who in the beginning of the insurrection had behaved with a violence worthy of an Attila, and who, four days before, had threatened to break the spirit of revolt with bombs and bullets! *

A volume would not be space enough to register all the atrocities committed by the enraged Austrians, during those five days: let a few examples suffice.

A group of eight children were found who had been crushed against the walls,

* See Cattaneo.

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thrown on the ground, and trodden under-foot; two were found shut up in a chest; two burnt with aquafortis; another, spiked on a bayonet, was fastened to a tree, where the poor child struggled in vain agonies before the eyes of its mother! A sucking babe (by a jest worthy of a cannibal) was thrown on the breasts of its mother's corpse; another was cut in two, and the halves tied together with its own bowels. Five heads, cut from their tender trunks, were placed under the eyes of the innocent parents. An unborn child was torn from the maternal womb by these vile wretches. In the pocket of a Croat prisoner were found two female hands, loaded with rings; and many women were deprived of their eyes, tongues, hands, and feet. The monsters first violated, and then killed them with their bayonets. Some were burnt alive; others buried alive in ditches and wells; others covered with pitch and tortured with fire. Eight

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bodies were found burnt in an inn at the Porte Tosa; as many in another inn at the Porte Vercellina; ten were seen in a small room at the Porte Ticinese, horribly mutilated and mangled: the great efforts made by one poor woman to save herself through the chimney, still appeared. I pass over the assassinations in houses, in beds, in hiding places. One man was compelled to kneel on the bloody corpse of his brother, and there stabbed. Two unfortunate men, father and son, were spiked together to a tree on the ramparts; a child of Mario Belloni was burnt; a son and a brother of Giovanni Piotti were killed. But let us throw a veil over the abominable deeds of the flying enemy; the mind can ill endure the atrocious spectacle of such wicked carnage!*

On the 23rd of March the war committee published the following edict:—

* See Cantù.

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"Five days are past, and Milan has no longer an enemy within her walls. Combatants arrive with eagerness from all sides, and it has become necessary to organize, and form them into legions. Henceforward courage alone will not suffice. We must with art pursue in open campaign an enemy who possesses all the advantages to be drawn from cavalry, artillery, and the facility of moving his forces. Let us, therefore, organize ourselves in two divisions; let one remain to defend the city with barricades and every sort of arms; let the other, provided with fire-arms, supported by cavalry if possible, and flying artillery, go boldly without the walls, and, adding valour to activity and precision, pursue the flying enemy from place to place, restrain their rapine, retard their flight, and prevent their deliverance.

"As the object of this division must be, as soon as possible, to reach the summits of the Alps and the frontiers, which the

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finger of God has pointed out from the beginning of all ages as the boundary of Italy, we will name them: *First Legion, Army of the Frontier, Army of the Alps.*

"The defenders of the city we will call the *Second Legion*, and, that we may conform to the example of our brothers, and complete a great Italian institution, we will call them also the *Civic Guard.*

"Brave men, who from neighbouring or distant lands have run to our aid, join yourselves either to the army or to the guard, according as our imperfect position may require, but unite and organize, and obey fraternal commands. Your commanders shall be elected by yourselves. Let us then cry, 'Viva the Army of the Alps! Viva the Guard of the City!'

"The War Committee:

"GIORGIO CLERICI.
"CATANEO CARNEVALI.
"—— TERRETTI.
"POMPEO LITTA.
"GIULIO TERZAGLII.
"CERNUSELIE LISSONE."

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Many of the dispersed soldiers of the routed army were taken prisoners. The main body was followed by the volunteers of Milan, of Como, of Lecca, and of Italian Switzerland. After dispersing the country people who defended the bridge of Marignano, it passed the Lambro, and moved towards Lodi.

Things being in this state, all felt the necessity of securing the city against a surprise from any quarter; a body of the citizens was appointed to keep guard night and day on the circuit of the bastions, and to send out patrols on all the roads. A corps of 100 Brescians, a fine valiant people, offered themselves as scouts; a third corps was expedited towards Melzo, in consequence of information that many Croat were wandering dispersed about the fields, and that there was some artillery sunk in the rice grounds. A band of engineers was appointed to fortify the moat at convenient points of the Milanese Agao, avoiding as

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much as possible all unnecessary injury, either to private property or public thoroughfares.

On this same 23rd of March, the citizens were summoned to enter into the civic guard, reserved for the defence of the city, or to enrol themselves in the movable column, destined to follow the Barbarians to the Alps. All the horses which had been taken from the enemy were got together, with all those which had been offered by the patriotism of the citizens, in order to create, as speedily as possible, a regiment of cavalry. Signor C——, a mathematician, and formerly a soldier under Napoleon, opened a special enrolment for the artillery and waggon trains, undertaking to teach all that belonged to those two branches of the army. Signor Montemerli instructed our infantry; and for this purpose he had the French military regulations printed in Milan. The manufacture of powder was organised on a



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wider scale. All the objects of military armament and equipment, which had fallen into private hands, were placed in public magazines.

On the 25th of March, the provisional government elected, as Captain-General of our military force, General Teodoro Lecchi. To Manare and Arcioni, who were at Trovoglio, with their columns, burning with impatience, orders were sent to march against the enemy. On the morning of the 28th, the rear-guard of Radetzky went out of Crema. Manare and Arcioni entered it, and were the first to pass the Serio, the Oglio, and the Chiave. A few days sufficed for these brave men to reach Salo, and surprise the Austrians, who having arrived there at night were supping joyfully, after having levied a war contribution on the town. Having embarked in boats called *piroscafi*, on the Lake of Garda, they disembarked at Desenzano. Thence, in a few days, they passed the lake, threw

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themselves between Leschiera and Verona, and made themselves masters of 500 barrels of powder, under the cannon of the enemy.*

The Lake of Garda is the boundary of Lombardy. *The Lombards were free!* †

* See Cattaneo.

† This chapter was written by an illustrious martyr of Italian independence, a native of Milan, who combated during those five memorable days.



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## CHAPTER V.*

REVOLUTION IN VENICE, MARCH 22ND, 1848.

THE result of the celebrated battle of Austerlitz, gained by Napoleon over the Austrians, was to place all the ancient possessions of the Venetian republic in his power.

The conqueror not only made himself be pardoned for the base bargain he made of the Venetian people in the treaty of Campo Formio; he even gained their hearts, by giving them new institutions, which applied alike to all classes, and excluding the privileges of caste, opened the way to merit alone. Protection was accorded to the arts. New roads were opened for the extension of commerce, which received

* This chapter has been written by a Venetian Colonel on my staff.

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fresh stimulus by means of liberal regulations and freedom from the chains which had hitherto fettered it. By the prestige of so many victories, fortune seemed to be for ever bound to the car of the victor. Finally, by his powerful voice, he roused the aspirations after glory, never quite extinguished in Italian breasts, and in the campaigns in Spain and Russia, the Italian arms reaped no perishable glory.

After being long accustomed to a humiliating thraldom, the Venetian people, roused as it were to new life, felt all the grandeur which fate was preparing for them. Proud of their own dignity, they saw in the foundation of the new kingdom of Italy, in their very name, in their army, in their navy, in their tribunals and administrations, and in their ministry, if not yet perfect independence, because they were ruled by the same hand which guided so many other nations, yet a future certainty of acquiring it.

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Thus during eight years Venice was nourished with something more than the mere bread of life.

When the colossal power which had redeemed it fell, the potentates who sincerely desired peace, and who had proclaimed the *statu quo ante bellum*, found that perfect quiet was not to be hoped for, so long as the people who had formed a part of the kingdom of Italy, and who in the division of the spoils fell to the share of Austria, were governed neither constitutionally nor independently.

The kings in their congress had definitively ceded to Austria the Venetian and Lombard provinces which her armies already occupied; but this new government was to be established on an independent and constitutional basis.

The Austrian government, faithful to the letter, but not to the spirit of its promise, promulgated on the 7th April, 1815, the Imperial *Patent* which consti-

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tuted the new Lombardo-Venetian kingdom, with a communal administration in every commune, a provincial congregation for every province, and two central congregations sitting, one at Milan for the Lombard provinces, the other in Venice for the Venetian, with viceroys residing in Milan and Venice, and depending only on the Imperial court. The electoral system was set on foot by the choice of members for the communal, as well as for the provincial and central deputation. The special office of the congregations was to represent to the Sovereign *the wants, the desires, the petitions of the nation, in all the branches of public administration.*

Literary works, not proscribed, were referred to the censorship. Such were *Inquiries into State affairs in general, and in all their branches; Discovery of errors or defects; Proposals for ameliorations, &c., even if the opinions of the author were not those of the government.*

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By these regulations, his Imperial Majesty desired that the government of the kingdom should be truly Italian, and conformable to the characters and disposition of the Italian people.

How were these Imperial words and promises fulfilled?

The first and most lucrative offices in the kingdom were in the beginning conferred on strangers, under the pretext of initiating the Italians into the new methods of government, and ever after continued in their hands, without any scruple or pretext whatever. A little later, the posts of secondary importance were also given to foreigners, and gradually all, even to the lowest, were filled by Germans.

This system filled the Italians who belonged to the administration with despair. They saw by degrees every door to advancement shut on themselves and on their sons, both in the administrative and judicial line.

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The examples were not few of German judges, who, being ignorant of the language, were accompanied by an interpreter. Thus property, which so often depends on the right meaning of a single word, was abandoned to the discretion of the ignorant.

In the military line, matters were still worse; the remains of the valorous Italian army were dispersed among regiments of which the superior officers were Germans, and the Italians mingled with German troops. Thus Italy saw the remnants of her recent glory dissolved, and extinguished in Germany. True it was, that the Italian levies formed separate regiments; but as it is also true that almost all the officers were Germans, and that the Italian officers were transferred to German regiments, and by degrees placed on the retired list, it was very rarely that any Italian attained the rank of general, or having attained it, kept it long.

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Even the navy was infested by foreigners, and places in the naval colleges were given in preference to foreigners. These institutions were Italian, but were remodelled according to the Austrian system, and the naval officers were chosen from it.

Thus the career of arms, so brilliant in past ages, became closed to the sons of Italy.

The funded tax was preserved in the same proportion as at the fall of Napoleon, that is to say, as in a time of active war, when double sacrifices were demanded. The resources of property were consumed to the detriment of agricultural industry; the due end of legislation was frustrated by the minute subdivision of all large properties, which was the consequence of the changes made in the laws of inheritance, and of the prohibition of entails.

Less of the national wealth was consumed in the kingdom than was taken

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out of it to pay the Austrian authorities, and to heal, in part, the wounds of that country.

The unequal perception of the taxes, arising from the want of a regular census, which want continued to the end, after augmenting the number of small proprietors, reduced them to misery.

Public credit was diminished by the sale of the properties which were the guarantees of the State Bank, by an additional charge made on the bank, and by an unlimited issue of new paper money.

The traders from the German provinces were protected and favoured, especially those of Trieste, which lies opposite Venice, and whither a number of Hungarians resorted.

Liberty of speech and liberty of the press were illusory; they were fettered by secret machinations. Personal safety, consequently, was not more secure. The discretional power of the police was ever

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ready to inculpate individuals for any act or word.

The secret criminal inquisition proceeded by way of accusations without defence, conducted by the same judge who pronounced either condemnation or acquittal.

The determinations of the communal councils on the management of their own funds were almost always rendered vain by the *veto* of the tutelary government, which, under pretence of taking care of it, poured their treasure into the money-chest of the State, and never restored it. Loans were made to the poor communes for expenses which they were unable to defray, but they were bound to repay them faithfully at the appointed time. All were loaded with obligations which had previously been met by the State.

The provincial and central congregations, by dint of restrictions, were reduced to mere forms.

Though the Viceroy was ultimately

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dependent on Vienna, he never rendered an account of the expenditure of the public monies, such as Napoleon required while the kingdom of Italy lasted.

Thus were fulfilled the promises contained in the Patent of the 7th of April, 1815; and thus by degrees did the constitutional Lombardo-Venetian kingdom become dependent on the pleasure of Austria.

This unhappy condition, which ever progressed from bad to worse, lasted nevertheless thirty-two years, putting the people to double trials.

The acute French nation were well aware of this state of things, but it suited their views to let matters go on as they were, well knowing that hatred always destroys its own instruments.

Finally, G. Batt^a. Mazzari, a central deputy of Lombardy, first gave the alarm, by inciting the central congregation in his report of the 9th of December, 1847, to

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apply itself to allaying the open discontent of the population, by nominating a commission from its body which should inquire into the means of establishing a good understanding between the administrators and the governed, and thus remove the peril of a fatal collision. The Viceroy approved this commission.

In Venice, in imitation of Lombardy, the advocate Dancile Manin made a similar motion in the central congregation on the 21st of December, specially demanding public trials, oaths, and other reforms, particularly in criminal cases; and on the 28th, the provincial deputy Giambatt[a] Morosini made an exhortation to the people of the province to which he belonged, and succeeded in carrying a resolution, that it would be disgraceful that a demand for reform should emanate from any other body than that of the representatives of the provinces.

On the following day, the 29th, several

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individuals, all belonging to the higher classes of the nobility with one only exception, went to solicit the municipality of Venice to persuade the central committee of Venice to unite and agree with Lombardy in its labours; and on the 30th of December, the municipality addressed to the central committee a prayer to the desired effect.

On the same day, Nicolo Tomaseo read a discourse to the Athenæum of Venice, on the abuses of the censorship, which were in contravention of the Patent; and he invited the individuals present to sign a petition for the restriction of the censorship, at the same time inviting other citizens to petition against other abuses, in the same manner as the literati had done in the cause of letters. Not satisfied with this, he sent his discourse and the petition to the minister Kübek.

On the 14th of January, the advocate Avesani presented to the central congre-

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gation a paper, in which he stimulated it to demand from the Sovereign the concessions granted by the Patent, and those which the times required.

All these acts were legally performed, and the petitioners were within the strict limits of the sovereign Patent.

Finally, also, the Venetian central committee, after secretly ascertaining the wish of the government, named a commission to collect and transmit the complaints of the people.

When all these demands for reform became public, there arose a deep fermentation. The police thought to put a stop to it by terror. In the night of the 18th January, 1848, they arrested Manin and Tomaseo. They found in Manin's house a circular to the bishops, which he was copying.

During the night, writings were put up on the walls saluting Pius IX. as the saviour of Italy. In vain the police effaced

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them the following day; the same inscriptions were repeated the succeeding nights, and always longer and more varied.

Even in the theatres liberal demonstrations were made. Meetings were held in the public piazzi, amid shouts and vociferations.

The arrests which took place from time to time did not quell the excitement. Then recourse was had to arms, and the lower people were driven away, at first with the bayonet, and on the following day were fired on from a short distance. The Venetian people were unarmed. They pulled up stones, and breaking them, attacked in their turn, and then ran on the soldiers and seized the bayonets from their guns. Children of ten or twelve years old were conspicuous in these encounters; they beat a waltz under the very fire. The wounded bound up their wounds, and returned to the attack. There were some both wounded and killed, an earnest of



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what they were capable of doing, and of what they afterwards effected, and a lasting example of magnanimity and devotion to the cause of emancipation. From the piazza the people ran towards the streets, knocking at the doors, which were opened to let them mount to the roofs, in order to crush in the narrow and tortuous streets any soldiers who should venture there.

In the meantime a system of defence sprang up as if it had been organised. Bridges were designated to be cut through, so as to divide and weaken the troops.

These events changed the counsels of the government: they tried blandishments to let the popular fury pass, and prevent its spreading.

For some days news had reached the merchants that a constitution was published at Trieste.

On the same evening, two hours after sunset, a steam-boat of Lloyd's landed with

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dispatches for the government, and *good news* was announced to the people assembled in the piazza. At this notice, all ran under the balcony of the governor, calling loudly for the news. The Governor Palffy appeared at the balcony, and said that he had received advice from the Governor of Trieste, that the constitution had been proclaimed there, and he added that he hoped it would soon come to Venice. The people gave themselves up to rejoicing. On the following day the portrait of the Pontiff, crowned with a garland, was taken to the piazza, and the passers by were compelled to uncover their heads before it; the theatre, hitherto deserted, was filled that evening, and a tricoloured flag was hoisted from the balcony, which the government with the aid of the troops forced down.

The arrival of the desired constitution was retarded, and this delay might be attributed to its having been, according to



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the usual course, transmitted in the first place to the Viceroy at Milan. Thus things went on till the 17th of March, when the people, unable to contain themselves any longer, decided on liberating Manin and Tomaseo.

The Governor, intimidated, sent orders to the police; but already the people had reached the prison. They forced the doors, and bore their champions on their shoulders to the piazza.

Manin made a long discourse under the windows of the Governor, who, partly alarmed and partly irritated, made him signs to go away; but he persisted, and so long that he fainted, and was conducted by the people to his own house.

From day to day the attitude of the people became more serious. On the morning of the 22nd of March, the municipality invited some of the most esteemed among the citizens to join with them in the difficult circumstances of the moment.

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An Assembly being thus formed, and while they were discussing the events, news was brought that Colonel Marinovik had been killed at the arsenal. The workmen revenged themselves by his death for all the anguish and persecutions he had inflicted on them.

This Assembly hastened to name out of their body a commission to repair to the government, and explain to it the wishes of the people, in order to spare the effusion of blood.

This commission was composed of the Podestà, Correr; the two municipal assessors, Medies and Michiel; the advocate, Avesani; the merchant, Pericherle; the central deputy, Fabris; and the advocate, Mengaldo, named Commandant of the Civic Guard, which was instituted to calm the popular effervescence and provide against disturbances.

The deputation intimated to the Governor that the Austrian government

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must give up its power, and the civil governor resign his functions to the military governor, Zichy, who must sign a convention, by virtue of which Venice should be evacuated by the Austrian troops, ceding the command, which, in expectation of a provisional government about to be instituted, was secured to the members of the deputation sent.

While these events were passing in the Palace, the arsenal was strongly occupied by a portion of the civic guard, and Manin, taking from thence a standard with the ancient emblem of St. Mark, was conducted along in triumph, proclaiming the Venetian republic to the people, who, half astonished, had just been reading the printed proclamation of the institution of a provisional government.

The same night the members of the deputation resigned, and the following day, the 23rd of March, the Commandant of the Civic Guard, Mengaldo, drew out

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two of his battalions on the piazza, and after obtaining from the Patriarch the benediction of their banners, he proposed a provisional government, composed of Manin, President and Foreign Affairs; Tomaseo, Religious Worship and Instruction; Castelli, Justice; Camerata, Finance; Solera, War; Paulucci, Marine; Paleoropa, Internal Affairs and Constructions; Pinibrerle, Commerce; and Toffoli, Arts, without a portfolio.

All the magistrates, both civil and judicial, gave in their adhesion to this government, as did also the Venetian provinces, as soon as they were evacuated by the Austrian troops, who were concentrated in Verona.

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## CHAPTER VI.

The Author's intention of going to Milan.—The Sardinian troops pass the Ticino.—The Author's conviction that Venice should be assisted by the Neapolitans.—The Genoese send succours to Milan.—The Genoese Civic Guard.—Sensations produced by the sight of the Gulf of Naples on the Author.

My first idea on arriving at Genoa was to go to Milan, where there was not a single General who had ever taken the field with that grade, and to lead the troops while my years and strength would permit.

I had my carriage brought on shore, out of the steamer, but when I was on the point of starting, news arrived that the Sardinian troops, commanded by the Duke of Genoa, the King's son, had passed the Ticino. I therefore thought my presence might be more useful in Naples, where, among other circumstances, I was flattered by hearing that I might be influential

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in determining an expedition of land and sea forces to succour Venice. I had long known the importance that classical and glorious lagoon was destined by nature to have in a war of Italian independence. I was so convinced of this, that I had written a few pages on the subject in my "Italia Militare," published in Paris, and afterwards reprinted in Venice.

The day preceding that on which I arrived in Genoa, the inhabitants had sent off a number of volunteers to Milan, among whom were many young men of historical and illustrious families, and they promised to dispatch greater forces in favour of Italian independence.

The day I landed in Genoa the whole National Guard of the city was assembled for a general review. The Commander, together with all the superior officers, came to salute me; and to tell me, that they would all defile with their battalions before the balcony of my hotel, which

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was done, and I saw with pleasure about 5000 men of this National Guard, well dressed, with a military appearance, and seeming full of patriotism. Every thing appeared favourable to the destinies of Italy, and, under these happy auspices, the steam-boat, in which I was embarked, continued her voyage towards Naples.

The dawn of the 29th of March, when we discovered the Gulf of Naples, was to me a moment of overpowering emotion. Not only had my long sojourn in the north made its beauty more striking, but other recollections rushed to my mind, already agitated with tender feelings. There was Castellamare before me, where, twenty-seven years ago, in this same month of March, I had gone, not without great danger, in order to embark in a Spanish vessel for Barcelona, esteeming myself fortunate to be sent on a long exile, instead of leaving my head under the axe of princes who thirsted for my

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blood. Turning my eyes to the tremendous and poetical Vesuvius, I perceived the mountains which concealed Avellino, from whence, in 1820, I had passed them with an army which I conducted to the capital, not to punish the cruel King, who, in 1799, had sent to the scaffold the flower of my contemporaries to the number of three hundred, all the honour of Italy and of humanity, but respectfully to impose on him a liberal constitution. Viglieno next caught my view, recalling the flag of those Calabrian heroes, who, faithful to their magnanimous view of dying free, set fire to the powder magazine, and were followed by their conquerors into eternity. I invoked them to rise from their tombs, and admire how, at last, their sacrifice was becoming fruitful.

The condition in which Germany, France, all Italy, then was, made me, again and again, repeat, "This time, at least, the invader shall surely be driven beyond the

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mountains, and for ever." But fickle and wicked fortune laughed at my hopes, which all thought reasonable, and which seemed no longer hopes but certainties.

In the midst of these moving reminiscences, I found myself in the harbour, and the first person who ascended the vessel to greet me was Count Pietro Ferretti, who, although a cousin of the Pope's, and a brother of the Cardinal Ferretti, has since been obliged to escape from Naples in order to save his life, or at least his liberty. Along with Ferretti came Captain Corrado, who commanded a company of grenadiers in my favourite regiment, the 2nd of the line, in 1815. Both accompanied me on my way to my brother, who was greatly esteemed and loved by them.

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## CHAPTER VII.

Arrival at Naples.—Reception.—The King's conduct.—Conversation.—Proposals to the Author to form a Ministry.—Endless altercations.—Final rejection.—The Command of the Forces against Austria offered him.

I FOUND my brother Florestano confined to his bed by severe sufferings. These were the results of wounds which he had received in his early and northern campaigns. It was a great grief to me to find him thus; and his house was so filled to overflowing, with old and new friends, that it was impossible for me to converse with him alone. It was expected I should present myself to the King, not later than mid-day. I wished to defer my visit till the following morning; but my brother said, that, ill as he was, on being called for by his Majesty, the preceding day, he had instantly obeyed the summons, and had

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promised, for me, that I should go to the Royal Palace as soon as possible after I landed. "What love! what benevolence!" I exclaimed; but to avoid making my brother uneasy, I determined to comply.

Florestano was in a singular position: he had always remained a Lieutenant-General on active service, without ever having accepted any favour from the King, who, nevertheless, had not ceased to overwhelm him with civilities ever since his accession to the throne in 1830. Moreover, he was the only person whom the King never spoke of with derision, according to his usual practice with regard to all others, when conversing with his courtiers. Gratitude, which is ever warmest in elevated minds, prompted Florestano on all occasions to excuse and defend the King.

I was obliged to make a hasty collation, surrounded by a multitude of persons, many of whom were about my own age, and they asked me if I recollected them.

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A few only I recognised; and these, after an absence of twenty-seven years, seemed to me like the caricatures of pictures I had once seen. Gaetano Cappola, the companion of my first exile, was an exception: though five years older than myself, he had preserved, through the changes of years, the fine features of his youthful physiognomy. I embraced him with heartfelt cordiality. I already knew that he had inherited the wealth and title of Duca di Campo Chiaro, by the death of his nephew in Paris.

Before my interview with the King, it was very essential for me to learn as much as possible of the prevailing opinions of the people; above all, it was necessary that I should know what progress the republican party had made. I begged the moderate, as well as the ultra, liberals to tell me frankly what they desired. They replied, "We desire to retain the King with a constitution on a broad basis:" and

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among those who gave me this answer, were many who had formerly been condemned to decapitation for political offences, and who had afterwards had their sentence commuted to severe imprisonment in chains, &c.: among these were Salicetti and Romeo.

I replied not a word; but I mentally exclaimed, "How simple of you to suppose that such things can be easily obtained!"

I must now suspend my narration, in order to explain to my Italian countrymen what my own opinions then were regarding our political conduct and position, and what they are at present. I must request my readers to bear in mind that the desire and aim of my life have ever been Italian independence: to attain this, I have gone straight to the point, putting aside even my republican sympathies.

But before I state my thoughts on our past and present position, I must observe

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to the Italians that, since 1799, I have been personally acquainted with almost all the proscribed in Europe; that I have found my own countrymen, who for ages have been so separated by territorial demarcation, less disunited in sympathies than those of other lands.

At this moment, the exiles are principally among the highest intellects of the Peninsula. I do not fear to exhort them to bear in mind the faults which have been committed, and not to fall again into those errors which have deprived us of the good fortune and glory of obtaining our so reasonably and earnestly desired independence.

Let us not foster fatal discord by throwing blame on the conduct now of one, then of another,—often on that of the purest patriots.

I will now return to the point I wish to develope.

It is a serious error, when you have



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deprived a king of a portion of his power, to expect that he will use what you have left him, to consolidate the liberal system which you have imposed upon him. This is possible only when a prince, who has never known absolute power, ascends a constitutional throne, as was the case with William of Orange; or when a prince entertains hopes of greatly forwarding the interests of his dynasty by these means, as was recently exemplified in Charles Albert.

But these are rare exceptions, while instances to the contrary are numerous.

The English Barons had repeated examples of this in their obstinate King John.

Charles X. of France, by his attempts to regain not only his own lost power, but the absolute authority which his beheaded brother had possessed, was deservedly driven into exile.

Ferdinand I., Bourbon, first in Sicily in

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1815, afterwards in Naples in 1821, infamously perjured himself.

Francis I. did the same, and recently the humane and most christian Ferdinand II. followed their example.

We Italians were not ignorant of these truths; but the state of Italy prevented us from changing the persons of our Italian princes at the same time that we lessened their power, or from doing altogether without them.

We had to drive away the foreign usurpers before we could establish liberty at home. We were compelled to stipulate, not with one alone, but with five sovereign princes. Among these, Charles Albert united bravery with political prudence, and gratitude claimed for him more extended dominion.

Pius IX., who was both Pope and Prince, in the first days of Italian resurrection was not only beloved, but adored. The difficulties which impeded our way to



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the full attainment of liberal institutions were innumerable. Nevertheless, they might have been obtained, if in the months of March and April of 1848, we had, after the manner of Odillon Barrot, dismissed Ferdinand II., and set up his son with a regency in his place. Italy might thus have obtained independence and liberty. This not having been done, the Italians should all have turned their thoughts on Charles Albert, and have determined to succour him in his arduous enterprise. They should have abstained from throwing any impediments in his way by demanding new concessions, and still more from calumniating and injuring him. Unhappily, Italy did the very opposite to what she ought to have done; she disgusted Charles Albert instead of caressing him, and she caressed Ferdinand of Naples instead of sending him to the right-about, and giving the crown to his son, who as a minor could have done no harm.

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In the course of these memoirs I shall have frequent occasion to confute the unworthy accusations brought against Charles Albert, who in his last acts may have appeared often wavering and incapable, but ever a generous and loyal cavalier.

As to the future, it is impossible to foresee whither political events may conduct us. In every case, our first object must ever be to drive away the foreigner, embracing every means which may lead to so holy an end, be they mild or vigorous. This alone I recommend, that all should unite in this thought, and labour in concord to attain the same end; and no sacrifice or abnegation will be more noble than that which shall win the independence of our common country.

I resume the narrative of my adventures. Mid-day was not passed, when the King sent Major Nunziante in one of the royal carriages to convey me to his palace.

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The patriots by whom I was surrounded, both young and old, urged my speedy departure, saying I was surely come for the public good, and they attributed the King's eagerness to see me, to a determination to listen no longer to his courtiers: yet these same patriots besought me not to drive in the King's carriage with Nunziante by my side, as he was especially obnoxious to all the liberal party. I was obliged, therefore, to take another officer with me, and to request Nunziante to follow us in Florestano's carriage. Yet, as we passed along the streets, there were those who cried, "Yesterday condemned to decapitation, to-day invited and courted."

Since I had quitted Naples, many improvements had been made in the royal habitation. On entering the room appropriated to the officers on duty, I was saluted as a person of high position, and immediately introduced to the King. He retained no trace of the boy of ten years

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old whose beauty I had then admired; with added years he had become colossal, and his countenance did not indicate tenderness of heart. Yet his manner to me was only too gracious; he invited me to sit down on a magnificent sofa, while he took a light cane chair for himself. "Sire," I said, "this is my place, the other belongs to your Majesty." He began by inquiring after Florestano's health, and this inquiry he never failed to repeat in all my subsequent visits; after asking whether my voyage had been prosperous, he talked of France. I told him that when first the French republic was proclaimed no one believed it, but soon after I had convinced myself, and I remained convinced, that a throne would not speedily be re-established in France. We discoursed of the embarrassment in which the Emperor of Austria, the King of Prussia, and other German princes found themselves placed. I said, "Sire, an example is offered to princes, as

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useful as it is agreeable to follow, in the person of the King of the Belgians, who has conducted himself in such a manner that his people unanimously entreated him not to abandon them.

Having conversed some time on the political condition of other states, without saying a word of his own, he pressed me to return again the following day.

On leaving him, I turned my eyes towards that chamber, temporarily converted into a chapel, where Ferdinand's worthy ancestor in 1820, in presence of his ministers, myself, and other notabilities, swore on the Evangelists, and said to me weeping, "This time, General, I assure you I swore from my heart," on which he placed his hand; and I, admiring in this gesture a grey-headed old man seeming to repent his perjury, wept at his tears, and incurred the reproaches of not a few of my contemporaries, who were not present at the scene which excited and excused my emotion.

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In that palace too, I called to mind the feigned reasonings of the Regent, afterwards Francis I., and the father of Ferdinand II. This prince, the most dissembling of men, pretended to be a warm partisan of constitutional government, and in order to make himself believed, he studiously advanced arguments in favour of that system.

On my return to my brother, I found it impossible to converse with him alone, and the day passed in greeting a multitude of visitors, and in talking especially with those who could best inform me of the predominant leaning of the public mind: all desired a liberal constitution; all mistrusted the King; no one spoke of getting rid of him.

Observing this inconsistency, or want of decision even in those who were called on to lead the public mind in Southern Italy, I determined with myself that I would use all my influence to obtain, at least for

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the moment, some amelioration in the constitution already given. But to succeed in this endeavour was not sufficient; the greatest difficulty would be to give it stability, and this would depend entirely on the organisation of the National Guard of the kingdom, and above all, of that of Naples. The traditions regarding the regulations I had made in 1820 for the said Guard, the remembrance of my impartiality, of my affection and my severity, placed me in a position to obtain speedy results; on the other hand, without a well-disciplined national militia, it would be impossible to bridle either the liberticide tendencies of the King, or the exaltation of the patriots, stimulated partly by folly, and partly by personal ambition.

It was my constant conviction of the necessity of a well-regulated national militia, which induced me in 1835 to publish "L'Italia Militare."

The following day I was again sum-

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moned to the King, and the most singular conversation ensued. I said to him, "Sire, my maxim has ever been that a man's first duty is to his country, and that it supersedes all other duties. It results from this conviction, that I feel myself obliged to say nothing to the King, of which I am not thoroughly persuaded myself."—He answered, "I am perfectly convinced that whatever you say either to me or to others is your real opinion, and that you may more firmly believe what I say, I will add that I have read your Memoirs."

I was not prepared for this; nevertheless I replied, "I will tell you then, Sire, that the wishes of the most exalted and patriotic are, that you should reign with a constitution on a broad basis, and that my own opinion accords with this. In the commencement of the current year, if your Majesty had only granted liberal institutions, I myself, though I should not have returned to my beloved country unless

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it had been free, should have warmly applauded such political ameliorations, and have prayed that they might continue. But now that France is a republic, that all the European States are responding by a revolutionary movement, neither simple institutions, nor even the constitution already given, will satisfy. The people are like their princes—the more they obtain, the more they desire. In effect, it is easier to restrain the wishes of a people by granting them at once all they ask, than by granting them little by little with a bad grace."

The King added nothing to my observations, and to say the truth, he did not add fresh reasons to my arguments, to prove the profound conviction of his mind, as his father was in the habit of doing. I talked much of the National Guard, both in Naples and in the rest of the kingdom, endeavouring to demonstrate that the strength of the country, the security of the government,

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and the internal tranquillity of the state, in great measure depended on them. The King partly remembered the manner in which I had disciplined the civic militia in 1820.

On returning to my brother, he thought I had spoken too strongly to the King, and he added, "Perhaps your frank discourse will have the effect of leaving you in peace, and you will not again be called to Court."

But the following day he found he was mistaken; for before midday Bozzelli, Minister of the Interior, came to me from the King, to inform me that the ministry was dissolved, and to propose that I should form a Cabinet, offering me the presidency of the council and the double posts of Minister of War and Marine. Nor was he unwilling to charge me with the organisation of the National Guard of the whole kingdom, remembering the manner in which I had succeeded in 1820 and 1821, when I not only maintained internal peace,

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but also sent eighty battalions to the frontiers. That I accepted such an arduous task united to a double ministry and the presidency of the council, must prove my profound love of my country, and the public weal. But in truth, supported in all vigorous measures by public opinion, and having formerly accomplished the same organisation, I thought myself the only person who could succeed, especially since the national militia, called Civic, which had been organised in the preceding years, was such as would have corrupted any society.

I replied through Bozzelli, that I accepted the charge and would speedily present my programme to the King, with a list of the ministers.

"PROGRAMME OF THE NEW MINISTRY.

"I. Entire and sovereign power for the Chamber of Deputies to legislate on a broader basis. Consequently the suspension of the Chamber of Peers.

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"II. Reform of the electoral franchise. Deputies to be named by the electors; electors by the citizens; whoever is in the enjoyment of civil rights may be an elector and eligible.

"III. Organising commissioners to be sent into the provinces with the special mission of dissolving the actual communal commission. The provisional commission being dissolved, a new nomination of the national assembly, which under the ancient monarchy was called the Parliament, to be proceeded with.

"IV. Three delegates shall be dispatched to the Italian confederation.

"V. Reform in the *personnel*, civil, judicial, and military.

"VI. Speedy departure of troops of the line for Lombardy. The forts in the hands of the National Guard.

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"LIST OF THE MINISTRY.

"GUIGLIELMO PEPE, President, War & Marine.
"SALICETTI, Interior.
"CONFERTIG, Justice, Public Worship.
"DRAGONETTI, Agriculture and Commerce.
"POËRIO, Public Instruction.
"UBERTI, Public Works.
"SAVARESE, Finance.
"CARIATI, Foreign Affairs.
"LIETO, Police."

In giving me so highly coveted a charge, after my frank discourse, the King did not consult his wishes, but his fear of losing his throne. My proposals were not new to him, nor did he oppose them when they were presented to him; but some hours later the following note was sent me from the Court:—

"HIS Majesty cannot alter the constitution sworn to by himself and by all. It belongs to the lawful authorities, *i. e.*, the King and the Chambers, to develope and

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fecundate the constitution given on the 29th January, without changing its essence. Therefore the programme proposed cannot be accepted.

"The advice which his Majesty receives from all quarters, confirms the idea that he would fail in his duty towards his country by altering the constitution already granted."

I replied to the King, that having sworn to a constitution ten degrees wide, if to satisfy public opinion he should grant another doubly liberal, he would perjure himself in the same manner as a man would do, who, having promised to pay 100,000 francs, should afterwards pay 200,000.

In the midst of these altercations Lord Napier came to see me: he was then acting in the place of the English minister at Naples. He said to me, "Without being aware of it, your Excellency is seriously injuring your country."

I answered, "Pray omit the Excellency,



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and point out my errors, that I may know how to correct them."

I perceived that he was misinformed, and I explained to him all my proceedings from first to last. Lord Napier then said I could not have done better; and he proposed to go immediately to the King. Being engaged to dine with a lady, he sent his excuses, in order to have time to converse with the King; but the result of his conversation proved that his Majesty was less favourably disposed, and more obstinate, than Lord Napier had believed.

The advices which reached the government from all quarters were so numerous, and so warmly patriotic, that I was more than ever persuaded that a decisive contest must soon take place, the result of which no sensible person could foresee. These convictions gained additional force from the fact that as many as three ministerial combinations were formed daily, and that not only the liberal, but the Court

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party, came each in turn to offer me the Presidency of the Council, and the Ministries of War and Marine. I replied to both, that, having lived twenty-seven years under constitutional governments, I had had opportunities of understanding them; that my programme and ministry being rejected, I ought not to be tempted by the honours offered to myself, to rule the State with the opinions of others, and in conjunction with men not chosen by me to second my views.

There is no doubt that the King, to avoid greater calamities, had determined to trust himself entirely to me, and that he was dissuaded from this by his courtiers, and by Bozzelli. This Bozzelli, in 1821, was sent to my head quarters as chief administrative director. After the battle of Rieti he was among the few who did not despair of the salvation of the country; he followed me to Salerno, to tempt fortune once more, and was rewarded with long



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imprisonment, and still longer exile—during which his conduct was ever dignified—and he contented himself with the modest means of existence which his family sent him.

On returning to his country, far from renouncing his former opinions, he did all in his power to promote liberal institutions, and was again rewarded with chains and imprisonment in the Castle of St. Elmo for many months. Scarcely had the King been compelled in 1848 to concede a constitution, than Bozzelli was named minister with universal approbation. But after seeing the King, as if struck by a fatal malediction, he entered on a course of conduct in which my pen refuses to follow him. I leave the task to others who are not allied to him by long years of friendship, strengthened by partaking together of the bread of exile, and by mutual love for the same unhappy country, a love which her misfortunes have only fortified and increased.

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The absurd intrigues for the formation of a ministry being terminated, and while Florestano was congratulating me on being left to enjoy a little repose, the Minister of War, General del Giudice, arrived. He informed me that the King had desired him to offer me the command of the army, which was destined to cross the Po. Without hesitating an instant, I replied, "I accept with the greatest pleasure."

My brother was astonished at my prompt determination. I answered that there were circumstances in life in which hesitation is not wisdom. The troops destined for this expedition were to consist of 40,000 men, including the corps of reserve. The 10th of the line, which afterwards distinguished itself so much under Charles Albert, was to form a part of it.

But in the composition of this army two wills, and both equally obstinate, were constantly in direct opposition to each other. I was bent on its being speedily

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organised, and in a manner that should decide the safety of Italy; the King was resolved that it should be numerically feeble, deficient in all the material requisites, incapable in fine of aiding the Italian cause effectively.

It would be long, tedious, and beyond the scope of these Memoirs, to detail the base subterfuges employed by the King and his courtiers, by superior officers and generals, to oppose the preparations for entering on the campaign, and, above all, in making choice of military men who had most distinguished themselves by baseness of mind.

Before I proceed with the narrative of the events which were fatal to the independence of the Peninsula, it is necessary that I should say a few words of the Neapolitan army. It was highly disciplined, and the officers and subaltern officers were generally of wealthy families; the advancement of corporals and privates was

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determined by virtue of seniority and examination. The generals, and many of the superior officers, were grown old in ignorance. In fine, the army might well be called devoted to the King, for he was ever in the midst of the troops, so as to know the names of the common cavalry soldiers, and even those of their horses. He interfered frequently in the marriages of the officers and subaltern officers, and gave civil posts to their relatives and wives. Thus the army, which from interested motives was devoted to the King, began by degrees to find itself compromised against the national cause, combating on either side the straits, sometimes in small, sometimes in more serious insurrections.

The King was desirous that I should admire the qualifications of his soldiers, as well as his own ability in commanding them. I was scarcely arrived in Naples, and not yet in possession of a military uniform, when he requested me to accom-

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pany him in my civilian dress. Accordingly I repaired to the palace in my morning costume, and was conducted by the King to a very small cabinet, where I was seated opposite him, without knowing the motive. I felt we were descending, and I then perceived that we were in a machine constructed to descend and ascend, in order to avoid the fatigue of mounting the lofty stairs.

When we arrived beyond the Maddelena Bridge, we mounted our horses, and the King made two regiments of dragoons and lancers manœuvre. He commanded remarkably well, and his commands were executed with the greatest exactitude. I paid him most well-merited compliments; but I perceived that he considered this elementary part of the science of war as its most sublime point. In the moments of repose there was but little dignity in the conduct of the King towards the soldiers, who dunned him with petitions. Hence

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there was a want of discipline, and of that noble dignity which rules the multitude on all great occasions.

On re-entering the carriage, we drove through a new and beautiful street, which leads to the Studj. On the way, I observed to the King the multitude of mendicants, who, naked even to indecency, persistingly demanded alms. He replied to my observation, that it was the fault of the Minister of the Interior. In the same carriage were the Conte de Trapani, the King's brother, and the Prince d'Ischitella, the aide-de-camp on duty.

A conversation took place regarding Sicily. Both the King, his brother, and Ischitella affirmed that the English government had assisted the Sicilian rebels, and, among other acts, had sent them arms. I replied that this might have been done by private merchants, but not by the English government. Finding them obstinate in their opinion, I said, with a

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frankness which astonished myself, that before the King had promised the constitution, I had written to London to three of my friends there, who were members of Parliament, to obtain information from the Government as to what assistance I could hope to receive from them, if I landed in Sicily, in order to assist the revolution there. The answer was, that I might expect much sympathy, but not the smallest aid in arms, men, or money.

We soon arrived at the quarters of the 12th of the line in the Santo Petito, the greater number of whom were Sicilians. Scarcely had the drums beat, when, in an instant, the soldiers, while running, took their knapsacks and placed themselves in order of battle. The King commanded the manœuvre, and everything was performed to perfection. There was no flattery in my warm congratulations, nor in telling him that I had never seen troops move better on the drilling-ground, and that,

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though the English might excel them in precision, they were certainly inferior in agility. This exercise was scarcely terminated, when a crowd of soldiers, subaltern officers, and women, presented themselves to the King, each loudly supplicating for some favour; and he appeared pleased with this. That my readers may understand the nature of these petitions, I will repeat one of them. A woman presented herself, saying, "Majesty, I am the wife of Sergeant ——. We have two children, maidens, but *real* maidens; you have promised to give them husbands; I beseech you not to forget the promise, to avoid the sin to which they are exposed, the virtuous young girls!" The King replied, "I will not forget my promise." This regiment, the 12th of the line, towards the end of May, gave the first example of rebellion on the coast of Ferrara.

On returning to the Royal Palace, the King would not permit me to alight, but

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desired Prince d'Ischitella to accompany me home.

In the midst of so much gracious affability, the King, through the medium of his Minister of War, and the head of his military staff, continued to refuse all that was most necessary for the equipment of the troops under my charge, and to retard their departure. He employed the latter officer, as in the time of his absolute power, nor could I ever convince him, that his orders should be communicated through the responsible Minister of War. I did not fail to tell him, that I should only obey the orders of the King when thus conveyed to me.

The next day I went to the King, with the intention of trying if it were possible to move that heart which Heaven seemed to have created in a moment of anger with mankind.

I said to him, "Sire, having married an Austrian princess, it is to be expected that

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you should be averse to making war against that power;" and he replied, without hesitation, "You are mistaken; I have always detested Austria."

"In that case," I continued, "I am rejoiced to hear your Majesty's sentiments, and shall propose, with greater confidence, what would be most useful to your Majesty, to the kingdom, and to all Italy. Instead of confiding to me the command of the army, which amounts to 70,000 picked men, let your Majesty in person take the command of them. I will be the head of your staff. The liberation of Italy from a foreign yoke will then be chiefly your act: you will be the idol of all the Italians, especially of the Neapolitans. The Sicilians will return to your allegiance; and if that should not be the case, following the example of my brother in 1820, I will go there myself, and I feel certain of compelling them to return to their allegiance without spilling a drop of blood. With

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regard to the extension of your territory, you will obtain whatever you may desire."

I added many other arguments. I counselled generosity, and the evacuation of the citadel of Messina. "The Sicilians are grateful, Sire; you are not ignorant of the attachment they have ever retained for Florestano, for a simple general, who, because he did them service, was much annoyed by the Parliament and the Government." I added, "You, Sire, who have the military profession so much at heart, who from your earliest years have occupied yourself with the training of your troops, do not let the opportunity escape of gathering the fruits of your labours. You may from the Isonzo, or even from Vienna itself, dictate to Austria the surrender of all the strongholds in which her troops have taken refuge. You will decide the destiny of the Pope, of the King of Sardinia: your glory will live as long as Italy."

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In Naples, field-marshals are generals of a division; brigades are commanded by brigadiers; and lieutenant-generals, as in Spain, correspond to generals in Piedmont.

The Conte Statella, a field-marshal, had remained twenty-two years in that rank, and could never obtain advancement. He was recommended to me by Florestano, and moreover, on the day on which the constitution was wrung from the King, Statella had conducted himself so as to have received a sword of honour from the patriots. This circumstance induced me to propose him for Lieutenant-general; and the King, to oblige me, acceded to my proposal. Statella was accustomed to have frequent disputes with his superior officers, and even with the King. Not to belie himself, he wrote me a strange letter, affixing many conditions to his departure. I sent for him, and told him that if in an hour's time he did not withdraw his letter, I should dismiss him from

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the army. My warm exhortations induced him to comply, and he made no more observations.

The generals appointed by the King to accompany me in the expedition, took the Prince's part, and declared that bad health and the advanced season would not permit them to commence the campaign. The following month, when the war with Sicily was in question, they all asked to be employed!

The King was so obliging as to send me one of his own riding horses, with a complete caparison both for parade and common service.

With me, to succour Venice, to be masters of the Adriatic, to enrich ourselves with the treasures of Trieste, and to leave that avaricious city without even a fishing-boat, were settled ideas. I therefore demanded that seven battalions should be embarked in six magnificent steam frigates, and that with these troops I should

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disembark in the Lagoon. The King opposed this plan, saying that I would thus place myself in a *cul-de-sac*. I persevered; the minister was on my side, and what I demanded was decided on. Unhappily, in consequence of the agitated life I was leading, never having a minute's repose, I was attacked with a violent fever, which lasted six days. The King took advantage of this accident to oppose the embarkation of the troops; but being afraid of public opinion, he made the council meet in my house, and wished Florestano to preside. He added to the council Brigadier Carascosa and Major Cianciulli. It would be tedious to detail all the arguments used against the expedition by sea. Though confined to my bed, I should perhaps have been more successful in inducing them to follow my opinion, if I had employed intimidation rather than argument; but I was apprehensive, in the first place, that the brigade which was to follow me by



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land, being *without* me, would never pass the Po; and I shall presently show that I was not mistaken. Secondly, the Vice-Admiral Cosa assured me, that with seven battalions on board the frigates would be unable to work, and that consequently the Austrian vessels might engage with positive advantage. Thus it was decided that the troops under my charge should go by land; and even in this I was thwarted by the Pontifical government, who demanded that they should proceed by single battalions, and only one squadron a day. They would thus have reached the Po with a delay which would have been ludicrous to the population on the road.

At last the brigade, composed of 17,000 men of all arms, started; they were to be followed by 24,000 more, and it was determined that I should embark at Ancona on board the steam corvette "The Stromboli." Before my departure I re-

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ceived the following letter from the Minister of War, in which he tells me, on the part of His Majesty, that when I reach the Po, I must wait for further orders before crossing it. I placed the letter in my private portfolio, with the firm intention of considering it as *not received.* It must be evident to every one, that the intention of the King was not to satisfy the noble desire of the nation in sending an army into Lombardy, but that he studied the means of preventing it from joining the campaign. What general, trained to warfare, would have been so chicken-hearted as to consent to remain on the right bank of the Po—to say to the Sardinians, to the Venetians, "Expose your lives for the national cause, for its honour, for its independence; I will remain here, and read your feats in the newspapers, until I receive orders to pass the great river, orders which will never arrive?"



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If I had made known the contents of this letter to the public, or even to the ministry, and it had got public, the King would inevitably have been assassinated. What happened eleven days later proves that I do not exaggerate.

"NAPLES, *3rd May*, 1848.

"EXCELLENCY,

"I must beg your Excellency, on the arrival of the troops which the State has so worthily committed to your Excellency's charge, to confine yourself to concentrating them on the right bank of the Po, and there wait for instructions from the Regal government as to the active part they are to take in the present war, for the liberation of Italy from a foreign yoke.

"The most energetic measures are being taken in order to establish a convention among the Italian Princes, to determine the part which our troops are to take in

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the said contest, whereupon your Excellency will receive instructions, perhaps before the troops are reunited; and you may rest assured that not an instant will be lost in informing you of the part assigned to them.

"Your Excellency will be pleased to inform the Regal government, as often as possible, of all the movements made, whether partially or collectively, by the troops confided to your Excellency.

"For this purpose, your Excellency is authorised to expedite couriers or officers in employment, either as far as Guglielmo, where we have a telegraph, or here, according to the importance of what you may have to communicate.

"The Minister Secretary of State for War and Marine.

(Signed) "RAFAELE DEL GIUDICE.

"*To his* EXCELLENCY LIEUT.-GEN. BARON GUGLIELMO PEPE, *Commander in Chief of the Army of Expedition for Northern Italy.*"

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Thus, after twenty-seven years of exile, I revisited my native land, only for thirty-four days, comforted, indeed, by the hope of contributing to the salvation of Italy; with a mind agitated, yet determined to leave nothing untried which could contribute to the success of so noble a cause.

On the 4th of May I quitted my good and affectionate brother, surrounded by numerous political friends; uncertain when I might again behold this much loved country, which has been the cause of all my suffering, but which I shall love till my last breath.

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## CHAPTER VIII.

Arrival in Ancona.—Part of the troops reviewed.—Staff.—Arrival in Bologna.—Letter from the Venetian government.—Correspondence with Charles Albert.—Orders received from Naples either to conduct the troops back to Naples, or send them under the command of Lieutenant-General Statella.—Perilous situation.—Demonstration of the National Guard and population at Bologna in favour of the Author; he decides on reuniting the troops on the right bank of the Po to combat the Austrians.

THE war steam corvette on which I embarked, accompanied by Lieutenant-General Statella and part of my staff, had been built in England, and the King had given orders that I should be luxuriously treated. When I arrived in the Straits, on the left, near Scylla, I beheld the camp in which I had passed about five months with King Joachim, when, in 1810, he threatened to invade Sicily; and, on the side of Charybdis, I saw the coast on which batteries were raised, from which the missiles passed

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beyond the tents of the intrepid Murat. The corvette then approached the citadel of Messina, from whence I was to receive on board Picenna, Lieutenant-Colonel of the artillery, who was to be the head of my staff. The coast of Calabria, of Puglia, and Manfredonia, the mountains of Gargano, and then the shores of Abruzzi, awakened in my mind the reminiscences of a youth, ever warmly devoted to my unhappy country.

Arrived at Ancona, I was quartered in the palace which belonged to Prince Eugene, Viceroy of Italy; and where also King Joachim was lodged. To find myself in his *salons*, in his very bed-room, revived very painful recollections.

In the meantime the first detachments began to arrive, especially those which had embarked at Pescara. I assembled them, and spoke to all the officers, subaltern officers, and soldiers, one by one. I inquired into their wants, promised them

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that advancement should be always given to merit; I told them that we should combat in a noble cause, and the soldiers often added, "and for our King." Not to allow that these troops were devoted to the King, would be to deny an evident fact. I endeavoured to turn their interested attachment to a more noble object —to Italy and its independence. I therefore published the following order of the day:—

"*General Orders from the Commander-in-Chief of the Neapolitan Army in Northern Italy.*

"*10th May*, 1848.

"SOLDIERS,

"Having, in my early youth, attained the rank of superior officer, my subordinates, to reward my care of their welfare, saluted me by the title of Father. I received this appellation from our troops in Calabria, then commanded by Massena;

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and afterwards from our valorous soldiers in the plains of Castiglione and of Italy, when I commanded the advanced guard of the brave Joachim; and when you have experienced my warm interest in your welfare, I feel confident of receiving the same name from you. Above all, I shall watch over your dignity; you shall no longer be subjected to humiliating stripes, since you are citizens of a free country. But this will not satisfy my mind; I will not suffer your immediate superiors to use improper expressions towards soldiers, who, by good conduct, will have a right to attain the highest ranks in the army. I shall study, at the same time, not only to advance you according to your deserts, but to obtain for you the esteem of your contemporaries. By means of the public journals, your parents, sisters, wives, all who are most dear to you, will learn your deeds of honour; and when you return to your country, you will hear it said as you

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pass, 'Behold one of the brave soldiers in the sacred Italian war.'

"Soldiers! these advantages can only be obtained by strict discipline; by this alone can you obtain the esteem of your own government, and of all Italy, with the rewards which the King has promised to those who merit them. If, in other periods of my career, I have loved my soldiers as my children, I have never allowed a crime, a fault, or even the slightest negligence, to remain unpunished. My severity will ever be the same, but it will be the rigour of reason and affection.

"It only remains for me to express my entire satisfaction at your conduct, as reported to me, on your march through populations united to you by a common language and common hopes. The cordial reception you met with must have been most grateful to you, and they must have gathered from your order and discipline a certain pledge of your active obedience to

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your commanders in the day of battle, which alone can obtain for your valour a right direction and prosperous results.

"GUGLIELMO PEPE,
"*Lieutenant-General and Commander-in-Chief*
"*of the Neapolitan Army.*"

Will it be believed, that while I was thus taking upon myself the responsibility of abolishing flogging, the soldiers, excited by their officers, said that all this was in opposition to the will of the King?

At this time I received a visit from Bonaparte, Prince of Canino, who came from the neighbourhood of Padua, where General Ferrari then was in command of the Pontifical brigade. Canino spoke to me of Charles Albert as being of dubious fidelity, and rather favourable to the Austrians than averse to them. I was astonished at this conversation, and I told Canino that I was grieved to see an influential man, attached to Italy, holding such opinions. I demonstrated to him, that it would be greatly

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prejudicial to Italian independence, to distrust a king who had hastened with his troops and his sons to support the daring insurrection of the Milanese, and who had it in his power to save the peninsula. Canino was so sincere in his opinions, that, being convinced by my reasons, he offered to repair to the King of Sardinia with a letter from me. I accepted this offer with pleasure, but I addressed the letter to himself, and not to the King. I told him in that letter, that every Italian should feel attached to the Sardinian King, and consider him as the first and best prop of Italian independence. Canino was well received by Charles Albert, who wished to keep my letters, though addressed to Canino and not to himself.

Distrust seemed the order of the day in Italy, to such an extent that, even in Ancona, sensible people feared that the Neapolitans proposed to occupy, along with that place, all the Marshes. I com-

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plained to these persons, that they should fear King Ferdinand could make use of me to satisfy his own ambition, instead of leading the troops against the common enemy—and their suspicions ceased.

In the port of Ancona, I found the Neapolitan squadron, composed of six fine steam frigates and some other sailing vessels. The Vice-Admiral Cosa, who commanded them, was a man devoted to the Italian cause; but his mind was more patriotic than resolute. He proceeded towards Venice, where he was received with the greatest affection; and after remaining a short time off the Lagoon, he presented himself before Trieste.

In the meantime, after leaving the instructions necessary for the troops who were expected from the Abruzzi to pursue their march, I proceeded with my staff toward Bologna. Passing through Pesaro, I no longer found there my dear friends Perticari and Cassi; the latter had died

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recently; the former many years before. I stopped a short time in his ancient dwelling, now inhabited by his brother Gordiano, who offered me a collation in the very room in which I had parted for ever from Giulio Perticari and from his wife, who was a daughter of Monti, to mount my horse, and drive the Austrian cavalry from Pesaro in the campaign of 1815. As in life our days of sorrow far outnumber those of enjoyment, in the same proportion are our sad reminiscences, compared with the pleasant ones.

I was soon in Bologna, a city I have ever loved, and this affection was repaid me with usurious interest by its truly Italian population. I found there the following letter from Manin, President of the Provisional Government of Venice :—

"EXCELLENCY,

"The state of our Venetian provinces becomes daily more disastrous.

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The Papal troops have suffered serious losses in several encounters. Not only the whole of Friuli, but Trevignano, and part of Vicentino, are invaded by the German troops, who are advancing round Venice, and evidently threaten a blockade by land, while that by sea is already declared.

"Excellency, in this serious and perilous extremity, we fervently invoke the assistance of the generous Neapolitans, moved and guided by you. Hasten to our succour with your land and sea forces, if you would obtain the great glory of saving us, together with the cause of Italian independence.

"From the President of the Provisional Venetian Government.

"MANIN."

Every one will readily understand that I could have wished my troops to fly instead of march. I again reviewed those

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who had arrived in Bologna, and published throughout the whole corps the following proclamation :—

"*Soldiers of every Rank in the Neapolitan Army combating in Northern Italy,*

"The war we have undertaken is sacred; its aim is great, and incomparably glorious. We do not aspire to Italy's becoming again 'donna di provincie,' but to her being no longer enslaved.

"Our rivals will be the valorous warriors of the house of Savoy, rich in traditional glory, and the sons of Milan, who without arms, yet with their hearts and hands, defeated and drove out the veteran Austrian bands from their walls. Our past misfortunes oblige us to be foremost in the midst of so much bravery in the peninsular camp.

"In vain have upwards of thirty writers celebrated the valour of Masaniello's com-



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patriots. In Velletri, in vain, we vanquished the Austrian bands. To few is it known that in the fort of Vigliena our valour was on a par with that of Leonidas. Championet and Massena in their relations point out in vain the indomitable bravery of the people of Naples and Calabria. Finally, in vain does history relate, that in 1815 the Neapolitans were the first in Italy who contended alone with the Austrian troops superior in numbers; that they were the conquerors in every encounter, and only abandoned the field of battle in Macerata on the arrival of the Anglo-Sicilians in the kingdom. What has it availed to have conquered for ourselves liberty in 1820, which was destroyed by all Europe combined against us?

"But now that Italy is struggling alone against Austria, now that the military deeds of Italy will be for the public cause, you will compel the world to admire your valour, you will refute past calumnies, and

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fully justify the reasonable confidence, which the General who has the honour to command you has ever felt in you.

"BOLOGNA, 20*th May*, 1848."

I had found in Bologna a letter of the 15th May, in the name of the King of Sardinia, and I hastened to reply to it, sending Captain Ulloa to the King's head-quarters. I produce this letter, because it explains in part the situation of Upper Italy at that moment.

"BOLOGNA, 22*nd May*, 1848.

"*To his Excellency the Minister of War.*

"SIGNORE,

"Though scarcely arrived here, I hasten to reply to the letter which your Excellency did me the honour to address to me, on the part of His Majesty, on the 15th instant.

"The instructions which I have received from my government are, to reunite the entire brigade under my command on the



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right of the Po, and there await new orders. But as the independence of Italy, and the honour of the Neapolitan arms, demand that I should march promptly against the enemy, I shall, without hesitation, hasten to cross the great river, and I shall have the honour to place myself under the command of H. M. Charles Albert.

"I desire to know with precision where, according to the King's decision, I ought to go with my troops; whether between the Mincio and the Adige, or whether towards Treviso. In the first case, I should be under the direct orders of H. M. In the second, I request that His Majesty would direct that the two Field-Marshals of the Pontifical troops, Durando and Ferrari, should be under my orders, that the operations of war and discipline may not suffer under any pretext, and that we may act together.

"In this second case, we shall not be

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long before we encounter the enemy. But if, instead of marching on Treviso, I should have the honour of placing myself directly under the command of the King, I would ask as a favour of H. M. not to employ me in sieges or blockades, but rather in open campaign. I am more than ever desirous to refute completely the calumnies which malevolence, in former epochs, cast on the valour of the Neapolitan troops.

"I request your Excellency to direct, that the Neapolitan 10th of the line may join the 1st division of my brigade, as soon as it has crossed the Po.

"The captain of artillery who will deliver this letter, and whom I have charged to present my respects to the King, will inform the Colonel of the 10th that he must explain to the Commissary Darelli what the regiment under his charge is in want of. Captain Ulloa will return speedily with the instructions I am waiting for from H. M.

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"To-morrow, the first company of the 1st division will start for Ferrara, with an excellent battery of eight pieces. Two days later, the 2nd company of the same division will follow. On the 22nd inst. the 1st regiment of dragoons will arrive in Bologna, and will be followed by the 2nd, and a regiment of lancers.

"I have the honour, &c. &c.,

"G. PEPE."

But while I was dying with impatience to cross the Po, and fancied that I held the liberty of the peninsula in my hand, an incident as unexpected as it was fatal took place.

When I awoke, on the morning of the 22nd May, Lieutenant-General Statella and Brigadier Scala were introduced, the latter arriving from Naples with a letter and information of great importance. A copy of this letter, which announced the new

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and terrible misfortunes of all Italy, here follows :—

"NAPLES, *May 18th.*

"EXCELLENCY,

"The serious disturbances which took place in the capital on the 15th inst., as well as in some of the provinces, and which are threatened in others, impose on the government the duty of recalling, as soon as possible, the troops which are on their march for Upper Italy.

"In consequence of this, your Excellency will make arrangements that part of the infantry may embark at Rimini, to be disembarked at Manfredonia; while the remaining divisions, including the cavalry, artillery, and ambulance, shall fall back on Ancona, from whence the artillery and cavalry shall, in the first place, be ordered to proceed; and when they are nearly arrived in the kingdom, the remaining divisions of infantry shall be embarked,

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and landed at Pescara. This being executed, the squadron shall proceed to Naples.

"These movements must be varied and combined according to circumstances, and the position of the troops and the country.

"For the 10th of the line, which is now at Gorto, near Casalmaggiore, your Excellency will direct that it may, by the Modena road, join our other troops in the Bolognese territory, and follow the same movement.

"The Neapolitan volunteers may, if they desire it, continue their march and join Durando's troops.

"Your Excellency will be pleased, without retarding the movement of the troops, to communicate the present orders at the head-quarters of H. M. Charles Albert.

"In fine, I am to add, in the name of the Royal government, that if your Excellency does not think proper to take the command of the troops in their retreat, it

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should be assumed by Lieutenant-General Statella.

"The Minister-Secretary of State for War and Marine,

"PRINCE OF ISCHITELLA."

The two generals could not conceal their joy on the receipt of this letter; I told them to return to me at mid-day. I sent to beg Count Carlo Pepoli to come to me quickly: he is a Bolognese, but had been absent from that city sixteen years. I told him that I commanded troops, who, in consequence of my twenty-seven years of exile, now saw me for the first time; and that the soldiers, superior officers, generals, all were devoted to the King; that, notwithstanding, I should have attempted to oppose the Royal orders if the population of Bologna had supported me in arms, and, above all, the National Guard. Pepoli, and other liberals, told me not to count entirely on the population against

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regular troops, who might arrest and conduct me out of the town. Rather than expose, not only myself, but the Bolognese, to a fratricidal war, and to a political scandal, which would have rejoiced the Austrians beyond measure, I decided on offering myself to Charles Albert as a simple volunteer on his staff; and, with a heart oppressed with anguish, with sufferings more acute than if my last moment of life had arrived, I gave Lieutenant-General Statella orders to take the command of the brigade, and follow the directions of the Government. Without losing a moment, Statella expedited couriers in every direction to the chiefs of the different corps, to commence the retrograde march; and thinking to be agreeable to me, they said that, as I proposed to go on, they offered to give orders to the paymaster to give me whatever sum I might require. I smiled at such an offer and thanked them.

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In the meantime, the news of the orders from Naples spread along the Italian shore, and it was said that my life was in great peril. When a multitude of officers came running to defend me, I asked them if they would also have assisted me in preventing the troops from returning, which not only diminished the numbers of the defenders of Italy, but sent fresh aid to despotism in Naples against the liberals who had risen in favour of Neapolitan liberty.

The brave among the National Guard put their hands on their swords, saying, "This is for you, Italian General!" and I, grasping my own sword, added, "This is for Italy as long as I live!"

While the Bolognese had my safety thus at heart, a Neapolitan general, who was most disposed to flatter the great, exclaimed to King Ferdinand, "Is it possible that not one of your officers will put an end to Pepe with a pistol shot?"

Without losing an instant, I wrote and

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declared to Lieutenant-General Statella, that he must regard the letter I sent him, ceding to him the command of the troops, *as not received*, — that I had resolved to resume the command. Statella not only resigned the command-in-chief, which I had conferred on him, but, in the letter which follows, he declares that it did not suit him to serve any longer. I publish the letter, to give an idea of the spirit which animated almost all the generals of the Two Sicilies.

"BOLOGNA, *22nd May, Evening*, 1848.

"EXCELLENCY,

"This morning, the ministerial order was scarcely arrived for the retreat of the army of operation to the kingdom of Naples, leaving to your Excellency the choice, either of retaining the command, or ceding it to me, in case you would not conduct the retrograde march, when your Excellency judged it expedient to determine

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that I should command in your place: and, according to the ministerial announcement, I assumed the charge and commenced to give instructions for the troops to defile towards our territories. Now, your Excellency, in orders of the same date, but at a later hour, resumes the command of the troops with the intention of continuing the forward march.

"After the demonstrations which have taken place in this city, I find it impossible to oppose,—and, therefore, in spite of myself, I am obliged to accede to,—your Excellency's directions.

"But, in the present position of things, though as warmly interested as your Excellency in the Italian cause, I nevertheless feel it to be incompatible with my principles to take part with an army which is about to act against the will of our Government, as manifested in the above-named dispatch of the Minister of War.

"I must therefore entreat your Excel-

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lency to permit me to resign the command of the 1st division, which no longer suits me, and allow me to return to Naples.

"LIEUT.-GEN. GIOVANNI STATELLA."

The Lieutenant-General Giovanni Statella was definitively resolved to depart. I did all in my power to shield him from the dangers which menaced him. He reached Tuscany safely, but ran a great risk there of being killed by the populace, who burnt his carriage from rage. The Vice-Admiral Cosa, who commanded the Neapolitan naval division in the Adriatic, and who had received so much applause from the Venetians, received orders to return to Naples. He obeyed with grief; but he obeyed.

Without loss of time, I despatched a courier to Ferrara and its vicinity, in order that the troops there might remain. I sent another courier towards Ancona, directing the commanders of these corps, under their

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responsibility, to hasten their march towards Bologna. I was implicitly obeyed, in spite of a *vivâ voce* order, given by Brigadier Scala, for a countermarch. This proves that the devotion of the troops to the King proceeded from interest and not from any more elevated sentiment: my commands to continue their march towards the Po were obeyed with enthusiasm as well as promptitude.

The evening of the 22nd of May deserves to be described by the pen of a poet rather than of a soldier. Neither before nor since have I ever seen patriotic enthusiasm manifested more energetically, or more universally. The street, in which my hotel was situated, was filled with all the population of Bologna. Many bands of music played in succession. The windows were illuminated with lamps, and the street with torches. Extemporary discourses in prose and verse were spoken, and it was impossible for me not to answer, however

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laconically, those which were addressed to myself. The object of all these rejoicings was to thank me in the name of all Italy for not having obeyed the King's orders.

I sent the same Brigadier Scala to Naples, accompanied by Cirello, an officer of my staff, to whom I gave two letters, one for the King, the other for the Minister of War. In both these I declared my firm determination, neither to send, much less to reconduct, the troops into the kingdom; since such a retrograde movement would be fatal to Italian independence, and would redound moreover to the eternal dishonour of the Neapolitan army. I terminated my letter with the following sentence:—"In the mind of every citizen, the duty which should supersede every other is that which redounds to the welfare and glory of his country."

Will it be believed, that, for a long time, neither the King nor the minister answered my letters, though they blamed my con-

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duct, and repeated to those around them the orders which had been sent to me. But, on the other hand, the ministers exhorted all the officers' wives to write to their husbands, that they and their children would be deprived of all their pensions, and must die of hunger. Many officers, especially those on my staff, who had the honour of Italy and of the Neapolitan name most at heart, referred me to these discouraging letters which were received daily. I continued to oppose with perseverance the increasing difficulties; I reviewed the corps as they arrived; I studied to profit by the impression produced on the minds of the soldiers by the popular demonstrations of the cities through which they had passed, and I perceived that the soldiers were more readily moved than the officers to favour the Italian cause.

On the 23rd of May, two letters of the same date reached me from Franzini, Minister of War to Charles Albert, and in



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his name. I produce them here, to show, not his military capacity, but his loyal character, and his desire to save Italy.

"*From Head Quarters in open Campaign,*
21*st May*, 1848.

"ILLUSTRIOUS GENERAL,

"His Majesty, not being able to answer directly the letter which you sent him by General Ferrari, by reason of his being obliged to depart for Peschiera, has charged me to write to you for the purpose of begging you to direct the march of your forces towards that part of the Venetian States where Nugent now is, with the remainder of the troops which are not gone towards Verona. H. M. recommends, as of the greatest importance, that your Excellency should afterwards unite your troops with the right of his army.

"At the same time H. M. desires me to advertise your Excellency of the orders he has expedited to General Durando, to join the Sardinian army with the greater part

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of his troops as soon as possible, in order to compensate for the reinforcements which the enemy has received, leaving the rest to General Ferrari, under the orders of your Excellency. On the arrival of General Durando's troops, H. M. intends that the 10th regiment of Neapolitan troops shall be directed to join the Neapolitan corps.

"In announcing to your Excellency my Sovereign's directions, I hope, at the same time, to have the earliest notice of the favourable progress of the Neapolitan troops, and I have the honour to assure you of my highest consideration,

"Most illustrious General,

"Your devoted servant,

"FRANZINI,

"*Minister of War of H. Sardinian Majesty.*"

"*May* 21*st*, 1848.

"EXCELLENCY,

"Although I this morning communicated the orders of H. M., that you



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should reach the Venetian territory, to watch and beat the corps of Nugent, who, with only 5000 men, was endeavouring to join Marshal Radetzky, having now learnt by the official reports that this junction has been effected, H. M. desires that your Excellency will immediately join the right of his army, since there is every appearance to lead him to expect an attack on our line somewhere between Mantua and Peschiera. In the expectation of a speedy and certain encounter, I sign myself,

"Your Excellency's devoted servant,

"FRANZINI, &c., &c."

While I was receiving these letters from Charles Albert, Manin, the President of the Venetian Republic, and the Chargé d'Affaires of the Provisional Government of Lombardy, wrote me the two following letters, which I insert, to show the situation of Venice, and the patriotic enthusiasm of

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Lombardy. Imagine, reader, the state of my mind. Grant me only life, adverse fortune, I inwardly ejaculated, till I reach the other side of the Isonzo, and I will no more complain of your injustice! Between my troops and the Roman troops, under the Brigadier-Generals Durando and Ferrari, we should have united near Padua 36,000 men; and the King of Sardinia, aided by this body of troops, would without doubt have liberated Italy from the Austrians.

"GENERAL,

"The regular militia, led by General Durando, are retiring from Trivigiano to keep in the rear of the Austrians, who appear to be moving towards Verona; they leave this part of the country in trust, I may say, to the valour and loyalty of the troops commanded by you, General. On your arrival the popular enthusiasm will be rekindled, which has been chilled

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by circumstances which I will not now detail, but leave them to be judged by public opinion and by history. Time presses. We are weak, and are not ashamed to confess it; and there is joy in thinking that this new chain will more firmly join the different Italian races. Excellent is the unity which is produced from the most spontaneous and generous affections! To you, General, who, during an exile of more than a quarter of a century, have loved Italy with a watchful affection, to you no excitement is necessary. Your nation is with you. The wishes of all the noblest countries in Europe are for us. The Quirinal, the camp of Verona, and Venice are the three centres round which the fate of Italy is agitated. From the harmony of the three movements will issue salvation and honour.

"From the President of the Provisional Venetian Republic,

"MANIN."

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"BOLOGNA, 26 *May*, 1848.

"EXCELLENCY,

"Your presence, your dignified authority, prevented me, General, from expressing to you the sentiments of veneration and admiration with which I am penetrated, on learning the sublime abandonment with which you have offered yourself to the Italian cause. History has already registered your name among her heroes; and now the universe will place you among the great. Italy will acknowledge her salvation to come from you; from you will date the commencement of truly national warfare and policy; from you the victory over ancient servile opinions. I am devoted to you, for you are devoted to the country. All the powers which the Government here have conceded to me, I am prepared to use, in order to second you in your magnanimous enterprise. And if that be not sufficient, I will

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joyfully give you my life. In the meantime I desire also to ascertain the sentiments of his Eminence Cardinal Amat, to whom I shall do myself the honour of presenting my credentials. I request your Excellency to return them, or an official copy. Your Excellency's devoted and admiring,

"CESARE CORRENTI,
*"Secretary, &c."*

While these hopes were throwing a ray of pleasure on my existence, disastrous intelligence reached me from Ferrara; it was reported that the 1st division quartered there, composed of ten battalions, an excellent campaign battery, and a company of sappers, had revolted, to obey, as these rebels expressed themselves, the orders of their beloved and beneficent King. Among the regiments composing this division was the 12th of the line, which was chiefly formed of Sicilians taken from the galleys, and of pardoned

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highwaymen, who, knowing themselves to be invidious to their contemporaries, had placed all their hopes on the King's kindness. The other corps had followed the example of the 12th of the line. A committee was formed, composed of non-commissioned, and a few of the subaltern officers, which directed the whole mass of the division. They closely guarded the artillery and superior officers, but these they called their chiefs, to impose on the multitude. This revolt was excited, under hand, by officers, who had received letters from their wives imploring them to please the Government, and not to expose themselves to perpetual exile. The Cardinal Legate of Ferrara and his dependents aided the rebels to consummate their crime, even by giving them the means of transport and large quantities of provisions, on pretext that they might have joined the Austrian garrison of the citadel, and, being irritated, might have made use

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of the field battery they possessed, against the towns on the road between Ferrara and the Isonzo.

It was not prudent for me to send troops which had not yet broken discipline, against such a numerous rebellion. Along the line of march towards Ancona, the excellent patriot Odinot, a Bolognese, endeavoured to persuade the populous cities on the great road to let their National Guard attack the revolted troops on their march during the night; but their artillery inspired too much fear in the chiefs of these communities. The Brigadier Latralle, who was compelled, in spite of himself, to follow the rebels, irritated by the idea that he might be regarded as their accomplice, put an end to his life with a pistol. Colonel Testa, humiliated by the situation in which he was placed, was struck by apoplexy. Many officers, subaltern officers, and soldiers of honourable sentiments, who were able to escape

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the vigilance of the committee, came to Bologna.

If, even before this calamitous desertion, discipline was unsteady, and the wills of many wavered between obedience to the Royal orders, or to their Commander-in-chief, the effect of such fatal example, which moreover remained unpunished, increased the vacillation to such a degree, that it became necessary to hope against all hope; and I did still hope.

Among so many sorrows, I was particularly afflicted by what was published in the journals, and reported in Italy, against the Neapolitans. All the nation shared the blame attached to one regiment, which the King had employed twenty years to seduce and pervert from their nationality. Some months later, the King of Sardinia was compelled, by the vicissitudes of the war, to recal three battalions which he had sent to form part of the garrison of Venice, and not one of these

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would remain to combat the enemy in Italy.

Latterly a French republican army obeyed the orders it had received to attack the Roman republic. In every epoch, citizens who have spent some time as soldiers in the ranks, have incurred the stain of anti-nationality.

The three regiments of cavalry belonging to my brigade arrived in Bologna. They were admired for their discipline, instruction, and dress. I reviewed them, and published the following order of the day:—

"*General Orders for the Neapolitan Cavalry.*

"Three Neapolitan cavalry regiments, which combated in Lombardy, in 1796, have acquired historic fame. You too are three regiments called on to fight in the plains of Lombardy. Then the contest was for the Royal cause—now, at the same

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time, for royalty and liberty. It is therefore your duty, not only to equal, but to surpass, their valorous deeds; not only to emulate their glory, but to conquer.

"G. PEPE."

While, on the one hand, I studied to infuse Italian sentiments into the minds of my soldiers, and, on the other, I kept them divided, to avoid a repetition of the catastrophe of Ferrara, I received another letter from Manin, which follows:—

"VENICE, 23*rd May*, 1848.

"GENERAL,

"You have already been informed, through General Ferrari, of the precise movements performed hitherto in the united provinces of our republic; of their occupation, in great part, by the enemy's forces; of the resistance in some cities, and, it is useless to conceal it, the weakness of many corps among our absent troops.

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These notices must have made you aware, most valiant General, of the expediency of hastening the movement of your brave soldiers in order to succour us, as well for the moral, as for the material advantage of our population and of our troops. But Ferrari could not have advertised you of the injury we have received through the supineness of General Durando's troops, in consequence of which, the troops of General Nugent have effected a junction with those of Marshal Radetzky, between Vicenza and Verona. I will add a precise notice of the Austrian forces, which are descending into Italy to form a second corps, and which are already arrived in Friuli and Trivigiano. This notice will confirm you in the resolution, that we do not doubt you will take, to hasten to our relief, in defence of the principle which ever directs all the glorious actions of your life, and which we have proclaimed to all the Venetian people.

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"We have been eye-witnesses of the valour of our Neapolitan brethren in the encounters at Treviso and Vicenza. If we were forced to admire the ardour and indomitable courage of that small free corps, what may we not expect from the greater number and discipline of those under your command, inspired with fresh energy and confidence in such a captain?

Permit me, General, to renew the assurance of our highest consideration.

"MANIN,

"*President of the Venetian Republican Government.*"

Besides Manin's letter, I received another from Franzini, Minister of War, in the name of his Sardinian Majesty, which I transcribe:—

"*23rd May*, 1848.

"EXCELLENCY,

"The Neapolitan Chargé d'Affaires to my master the King, having expressed to me, that it would be desirable that

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General Durando should be at the disposition of your Excellency, to act in concert against the Austrian forces in the Venetian territory, his Majesty desires me to inform you, that, whenever you think this measure indispensable, he will expedite an order relative to General Durando. As to the instructions which your Excellency, through the medium of the said Chargé d'Affaires, expresses a desire to receive with regard to the operations of your brigade, the distance which separates us will only permit me to point out a general plan,—that of operating in such a manner as will repulse the Austrian corps with the greatest vigour, endeavouring, at the same time, to cut them off again from Verona. Your Excellency should also place yourself in a position to effect a junction with the right of His Majesty's army, in case an attack on Verona should render a momentary reinforcement desirable.

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"In case Durando's corps remains under your Excellency's orders, the 10th of the line may remain with the Sardinian army.

"I have the honour, &c.,

"FRANZINI,
"*Minister of War.*"

I wanted neither the spurs of Charles Albert, nor of the Venetians, to make me cross the Po with the troops which remained with me: these were, a division of infantry, another of cavalry, and an excellent battery with sappers. But I was assured by my officers who were the most devoted to the Italian cause, that the troops, who were with difficulty retained in their ranks, would desert me when I commanded them to pass the Po. Now by waiting a few days before giving this order, that which the King promised Major Cirello to send me, in accordance with my wishes, might arrive. Nor did I hope for this, from any repentance in the King, but from the fear



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which the Calabrian insurrection would inspire if it continued.

In the meantime, the progress of the enemy in the Venetian territory, and the dangers to which Venice was exposed, were such, that I thought the moment was arrived to risk the attempt. I therefore transferred my head-quarters from Bologna to Ferrara, and decided on issuing the following order of the day.

If I have not had the good fortune to decide the salvation of Italy, I have succeeded in defending Venice during a long period, and in giving its people occasion to show themselves worthy of the glorious liberty which their forefathers enjoyed for thirteen centuries; I showed the Ultramontanes to what a pitch the desperate valour of the Italian youth, though unused to arms, could attain; and lastly, I showed a king, that the love of country can make the bread of exile sweeter than his highest favours.

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*Order of the day.*

"HEAD-QUARTERS AT ROVIGO, *June 10th.*

"TO-MORROW at day-break, Major Ritucci will pass the Po, and repair to these head-quarters.

"To-morrow at ten a.m., Colonel Cotrufiano with the 1st dragoons will march to Ferrara, where he will pass the night The day following, at nine o'clock a.m., he will pass the Po at Francolino, and continue his march on the same day to these head-quarters.

"To-morrow at dawn of day, Colonel Colonna, with the 2nd dragoons, will reach Bondeno. At ten o'clock a.m., the following day, he will commence his march in order to pass the Po at Palantone, and the night at Occhiobello. On the morning of the 13th he will quit Occhiobello, and arrive at these head-quarters before evening.

"Major Giosue Guida, with the 2nd division of the 11th of the line, will quit



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Cento to-morrow at ten o'clock a.m., and march to Pontelagoscuro. At dawn on the 12th, he will pass the Po at Francolino, and continue his march to Rovigo.

"Colonel Caracciolo, with the 1st lancers, and 2nd battalion of the 2nd, at seven in the evening to-morrow, will proceed to Cento for the night, and the following morning will continue his route to Pontelagoscuro *viâ* Mizzana. The next morning, he will pass the Po early at Francolino to arrive at these head-quarters the same evening.

"Brigadier Klein, with the 9th of the line, and the 1st battalion of the 8th, to-morrow, at seven in the evening, will proceed to Bondeno for the night. At ten a.m. the next morning he will pass the Po at Palantone and pursue his march to Occhiobello. On the 14th he will resume his march, and arrive that evening at Rovigo.

"The 2nd and 3rd battalions of volunteers, the 2nd battery of artillery, and the

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6th company of sappers, have already passed the Po, and are at head-quarters since yesterday.

"It would be difficult to say whether the prompt enthusiasm of these troops in their advance, or the fraternal exultation with which they were received by the inhabitants and the militia of Milan and Bologna, was the most fervent.

"The military of every rank are strictly bound to obey their general under pain of being declared in a state of revolt.

"A general-in-chief has the right of modifying, on his responsibility, the orders he receives from his Government; above all, when these modifications have in view the national honour and the King's interest.

"I therefore hold all the subaltern officers, officers of every class, and particularly the heads of corps, responsible for the exact execution of these orders of the day, in default of which they will endanger both their life and honour.

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"Beyond the Po, provisions of every sort will abound, and the military chest will be supplied both by our government and by those of Lombardy and Venice, who have sent me commissaries for this purpose.

"The recent victories of the King of Sardinia over the Austrians, the praises which our 10th of the line and the 1st battalion of volunteers have deserved for their valour, must make every Neapolitan soldier desirous of finding himself in presence of the enemy, before the campaign is terminated by the undoubted success of Italy.

"GUGLIELMO PEPE,

*"Commander-in-Chief of the Neapolitan Army."*

I shall conclude this chapter by a letter from the provisional government of Lombardy to their secretary, General Correnti, whom they sent to me, and one from Terenzio Mamiani.

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"MILAN, *May 24th*, 1848.

"*To Signor Cesare Correnti, Secretary-General of the Provisional Government of Lombardy.*

"You are desired to repair with all speed to the Commander-in-Chief of the Neapolitan army, General Guglielmo Pepe, in order to guarantee to him, and to all the officers and soldiers in his brigade, that, in every eventuality, their rank and pay will be assured to them as forming an essential part of the army of Lombardy; in case, an hypothesis which we hope is impossible, they were deprived of their rights by the Neapolitan government, for having passed the Po and taken part in the war for Italian independence.

"You will take care to give as much weight as possible to these assurances; and, for this purpose, you will act in concert with his Majesty the King of Sardinia and the Provisional Government of the Venetian republic, in whatever may occur.

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"The Provisional Government of Lombardy gives you full authority to take every measure needful, and to impart, in its name, all these arrangements, that they may avail for the accomplishment of the great end which is trusted to the vigorous energy of its mind, and the fervent patriotism of its heart.

"CASSATI, *President.*
DURINI.
GUERRIANI."

"ROME, *May 20th*, 1848.

"DEAR GENERAL,

"You must already be aware of the ill-will with which the King of Naples sends here the troops which are under your command. But, in case you should not have received distinct notice on this point, on account of their desiring to conceal it from your exalted patriotism, you may be sure of the truth of what I now tell you. This day, a despatch from Naples

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reached me, in which the Nunzio relates a conversation with the Prince Cariati, who came in order to foretel that, possibly, the troops would be recalled. This may serve you for advice and rule of conduct. It appears that King Ferdinand is jealous of Charles Albert, and does not fancy expending money and blood without some increase of territory. These, dear General, are old monarchical maxims; they neither suit the times nor the welfare of Italy.

"Let us think of saving the country, and if Piedmont becomes formidable, I confess it will not disturb my peace. On the other hand, I constantly grieve to think that your excellent troops may perhaps not participate in the great work of independence. I and my colleagues confide in you alone. Take all the authority you can on yourself, and even, to provide against these events, proceed forwards with all speed.

"Excuse my frankness: you have known

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me for so many years, that you can neither doubt my sincerity nor, be offended with my plain dealing. Adieu, dear General: recommend me to our Bozzelli, and let us save Italy.

"Again adieu. Your most affectionate,

"TERENZIO MAMIANI."

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## CHAPTER IX.

Insurrection of the City of Naples, 15th of May, 1848, with its fatal consequences.

After my departure from Naples, Troja, and the minister who preceded him, tried every means calculated to procure the welfare of the kingdom and of all Italy; but their endeavours were in vain with a prince whose mind clung to absolute power as to a second nature. This minister could, therefore, come to no useful decision respecting the affairs of Sicily. The many thousands of the reserve which the King had promised he would send to the Po, to increase the companies of my battalions, never moved. No one was sent to Rome to urge forward the treaty of the Italian league. Unless under the influence of fear, the King was never inclined to

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any good deeds. He perceived that all the ardent young men in the kingdom, and especially in the capital, who were of liberal opinions, had no leader; and, on the other hand, the army were devoted to him, above all the Swiss mercenaries. To these circumstances, which were against the cause of liberty, may be added the celebrated *Enciclica*, in which Pius IX. began to show a retrograde tendency. If the lovers of Italian independence were not discouraged, yet the opposite party began to hope; and for the first time the star of peninsular fortune grew pale. At that time it was said (and the report reached me through the camp of Charles Albert), that the Sicilian King already thought of betraying us, and recalling the troops entrusted to me. At that moment I did not believe this, nor do I now think it could then be true, since the fatal recal could not have taken place without the victory which the Royal troops obtained

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on the 15th of May over the patriots of the capital, who were few in number, and without a chief. The fault of the Neapolitan youths, who took up arms on the 15th of May, was not that they combated a prince who was radically averse to the constitution which he had sworn to maintain before God and men — their fault was, that they had not well calculated their own, and the enemy's forces; that they did not choose among themselves a good leader, or, in default of a good one, a mediocre one; for it is well known that in all deeds of arms it is better to have a faithful and ardent chief, even though inexperienced, than to be without any.

Having read with attention the narrative of Massari on the events of the 15th of May, and that of a celebrated Neapolitan advocate, who was in the midst of them, and being assured that the facts are related with great exactitude, I shall here transcribe them in great part, omitting

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the reflections, which do not satisfy me, and adding my own.

On the approach of the 15th of May, the deputies elected in the provinces arrived in Naples, and they ascertained with their own eyes the fearful crisis which was hanging over the country. Yet no one foresaw that it would be as terrible and as near at hand as was the case. The mine was loaded with gunpowder —the spark, which was to set it on fire, was alone wanting to make it explode, and this was the question of the oath.

The minister published the programme of the solemn ceremony by which the parliamentary labours were to be inaugurated. In an official article it was said that the deputies were to swear fidelity to the King, and to the *Statuto*,—nothing more. No mention was made of the express clause in the manifests of the 3rd of April, which conferred on the Elective

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Assembly the right to expound and modify the constitution.

The elected deputies met in a private conference, in order to come to an understanding together, and, by a preparatory deliberation, to hasten the verification of their powers, which would necessarily be the first subject of discussion submitted to a legislative body. One of these reunions met by invitation at the house of the ex-minister Ruggiero; but, as many were of opinion that he ought not to be admitted, because the election was made during the time that he sat in the councils of the Crown, the meetings were transferred from his house to a saloon of the Communal Palazzo of Monteoliveto.

The form of the oath was naturally the theme on which all the discussion turned. The silence regarding the powers solemnly promised on the 3rd of April by the executive power offended the deputies. Hence, a great diversity of

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opinions on the formula to be adopted, and much irritating discussion. The deputies had little or no confidence in the minister. The programme which he had signed increased their distrust and discontent,—an unjust distrust, a fatal discontent, which hastened the catastrophe, and ruined everything.

The deputies assembled at the Palace Monteoliveto. In a preparatory meeting, they had chosen for their president in age the venerable Archdeacon Lucado Samuele Cagnazzi, a profound and learned economist, and for vice-president Dr. Vincenzo Lanza, a celebrated professor of pathology in the University of Naples, and one of the most respectable physicians of the capital. The discussions were violent and agitated: every one wished to give his opinion. The formula inscribed by the minister in the official programme was rejected: it was moved that a conference should be opened with him, to obtain his

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consent to a better formula. The deputation repaired to the minister, who, it may readily be understood, had no other object in view than to put an end to dissensions, and to reconcile the demands of the deputies with those of the Prince.

The news of these differences flew with the rapidity of lightning round the city; the minds of all were moved and alarmed beyond all belief; suspicions and distrust, hitherto concealed, now burst forth in open anger; deep and hidden wrath was stirred in every breast. Still the question between the executive power and the chamber remained untouched, when suddenly it became known that some barricades had been erected in the Strada di Toledo. These barricades were the first preparations for the funeral of liberty. Positive data are wanting as to their first authors, which proves that they could not have been persons of note. By this fault the



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expulsion of the foreigner was delayed, and will be, Heaven knows for how long. Those who committed it were misled by ignorance of their means of action, and by not knowing how to use those which they were able to furnish. The conduct of the King was not merely a fault, but a serious crime,—the crime of having brought such severe calamities on his country.

It is impossible to say the number of deputies who shared in these discussions. If they erred by uselessly raising an irritating question, they erred at least with the greatest good faith, and it certainly was not their intention to push matters to such terrible extremities. Many ran to entreat the people to pull down the barricades, but they were not listened to. The minister, justly alarmed at these menacing events, and placed, as the Italian proverb says, between the anvil and the hammer, did not neglect any means of arranging the fatal dissension: he did all in his

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power to persuade the King to consent to the wishes of the national representatives.

The honourable Minister of the Interior, Raffaele Conforti, on the evening of the 14th of May, repaired to the hall where the deputies were assembled, and, almost with tears in his eyes, he conjured them to think of Italy, and to let irritating discussions yield to the thought of co-operating with alacrity in the war of national independence, which was now being carried on in the plains of Lombardy. To these patriotic and judicious words of the good minister, the provisional vice-president of the chamber, Vincenzo Lanza, answered—"The chamber will provide for the war better than the minister does."

To meet the exigencies of the moment, the deputies named a committee of public safety, composed of five of their number; and this the partial imagination of Bozzelli afterwards called a "Provisional Government."



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This committee was most innocent, and never entertained the notion which was attributed to it, of concentrating the supreme power in its own hands, and proclaiming the fall of the Bourbon dynasty.

After many reiterated endeavours, the deputy, Camillo Cacace, supported by the minister, obtained from the King, that, to avoid disagreement, and calm the public agitation, the opening of the Parliament should take place directly, and no form of oath whatever should be prescribed. On this notice, hope revived; disheartening suspicions were dissipated; doubts ceased. The soldiers of the National Guard, rejoiced at this act, returned tranquilly to their homes in the middle of the night, very few of them remaining under arms. The following morning many of the deputies repaired to the Palazzo di Monteoliveto in black coats and white cravats, certain of assisting at the imposing ceremony which was to inaugurate their parliamentary

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labours, and consecrate the first real act of a representative government. But Heaven in its high and stern resolve had disposed otherwise, and this day of expected joy became a day of sorrow and slaughter. The sun which rose bright and splendid in that azure and placid sky shed its parting rays on the last hour of Italian liberty!

At half-past eleven, a.m., the firing commenced—on which side is unknown—in the neighbourhood of the barrier of St. Ferdinand, close to the Royal Palace. After the first shot, conciliation was at an end; the die was cast. The few National Guards who were under arms, and the other soldiers, who at the beat of the drum hastened to the spot, sustained the battle heroically. The encounter was murderous, and for some time the result was doubtful. The soldiers of the Royal Guard turned their backs; the sinking fortunes of the royal army were retrieved by the Swiss mercenaries. They, pretending themselves

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friends to the Neapolitans, had been listened to fraternally. Some of their superior officers were admitted to visit the barricades, and they swore on their cross of honour that they would not fight against the citizens. The lying promise was a sly artifice to get within the barricades, in order to estimate their real power of resistance. As soon as they saw that they were fragile and ill-constructed, they turned back, and kept their promises by fighting with a fury and ferocity which baffles description. Platoon fire, incessant musket shots, did not suffice; artillery was used, and the castles cannonaded the innocent city. That of St. Elmo alone did no damage, because the guns were only loaded with powder. The loyal commander of that fortress, General Michelangelo Roberti, a man and a citizen before he was a soldier, would not obey the orders given him, and preferred losing his post to committing an infamous fratricide. On the

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towers of the castle floated the red banner —the abhorred symbol of murder and blood!

But in the Royal Palace they trembled; the fate of the war was still uncertain, and its final result doubtful.

The diplomatic corps all repaired to the King's Palace, even including Lord Napier, who on the 29th of January had shown himself so favourable to the cause of liberty. Not one of these diplomatists said a syllable to persuade the King to put a stop to the inhuman slaughter, and give orders for the troops to return to their quarters. Unhappy Naples, in the middle of the most civilised nineteenth century, was coldly abandoned to all the horrors of war; and the civil functionaries of the nation had not courage enough, in the name of humanity, to plead its cause.

The behaviour of the deputies on the 15th of May was truly admirable. The sword of reactionary power was suspended

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over their heads; the palace in which they were deliberating was surrounded by soldiers; imminent danger of death threatened them every moment; but their courage did not forsake them; and, with a few exceptions, all remained at their post. The president by seniority, Archdeacon Cagnazzi, though almost an octogenarian, gave the first example of firmness and courage. An officer presented himself, and, in the name of the King, desired the assembly to dissolve itself. The venerable old man refused to obey this verbal order, and demanded that it should be written. Before they submitted, a noble and dignified protest was written, and signed by seventy-seven of the deputies. Pietro Leopardi, Girolamo Ulloa, and Giuseppe Masari, who, on account of their employments elsewhere, were absent from the kingdom, and could not participate in their colleagues' glorious peril, publicly gave their adhesion to the protest, which with great moderation of

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language, and energetic laconism, attested to the country the sentiments of their representatives, and courageously pronounced their solemn reprobation of the arbitrary acts of a government, which attacked the chosen deputies of the nation with the arguments of the sword and cannon balls, thus suffocating liberty, trampling on just rights, and destroying the constitution.

In that terrible and memorable emergency, the Neapolitan deputies proved themselves the worthy descendants of those immortal martyrs, who in 1799 met death on the scaffold with the serenity and deliberation of Stoics, with the manly resignation and confidence of Christians.

The deputies were driven from the hall in which they were assembled, because alone and unarmed they could not resist the soldiers sent to eject them; but, while departing, they protested against the brute force which trampled triumphantly on their outraged rights, in the language of

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authority and offended justice. Nor are these praises either exaggerated or undeserved; for the Neapolitan deputies heroically defended their prerogatives to the last, and in the face of death, from which they were miraculously delivered, they did not swerve from the sacred principle they represented, nor betray their high national mandate.

Nor did the combatants give fewer proofs of courage. The struggle lasted from half-past eleven in the morning till the evening, and was most bloody. The soldiers of the National Guard, who were for the most part young, unskilful, and novices in the art of fighting, performed prodigies of valour. The fragile barricades were feeble ramparts against the onset of the royal troops, especially the Swiss, who declared that they fought for their bread.

The strongest barriers, and the last to be overcome, were the breasts of those generous youths. Unfortunate and heroic young

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men! who from the smallness of their numbers, and the want of a leader, were as innocent victims to the butcher. What, then, was the cause of all this bloodshed? Those traitors to their country, who, greedy for place, were impatient to consummate the sacrifice, and again to erect, over the dead bodies of so many magnanimous patriots, the tottering edifice of despotism.

In the midst of the grief occasioned by such dreadful calamities, it is at least a comfort to reflect that the Italians, and especially the Neapolitans, have borne testimony with their blood against the false and ignominious calumny cast on them by foreigners, that "the Italians do not fight."

The soldiery abused their victory by an excess of inhumanity almost incredible: they revelled in barbarity; and in the middle of the nineteenth century, in the most flourishing and civilised city in Italy,

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Neronian horrors were committed; and Europe, from her fleets, impassible and tearless, contemplated the sanguinary spectacle! Pillage, slaughter; children and old men murdered; women slain; all that in spite of humanity can take place in a city taken by storm, and after a long resistance, was experienced by most unhappy Naples. The days of Cardinal Ruffo, of infamous memory, seemed restored. The dregs of the populace crowned the work, and vied with the soldiers in vile cupidity and unbridled rapine. The houses of the liberals were pointed out, and selected for pillage and violence. Three times in the course of the day the lazzaroni and soldiers went to Salicetti's dwelling, and three times, fortunately, they failed in finding him. On being asked why they were so enraged against a man who had never done them wrong, they answered, "We have promised his head to the King!" An excellent young man named Santillo, who had the

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reputation of being an ardent liberal, and a thorough Italian, seeing the soldiers ascending his stairs, to appease their anger put himself in bed and feigned illness; but in his bed they inexorably murdered him. All the soldiers of the National Guard, taken with arms in their hands, were shot in the ditches of Castelnuovo. Not a few fathers, before joining their beloved sons in the tomb, were compelled to look on while they were murdered!

On the evening of the 15th May, the most beautiful city in Italy presented a horrid spectacle, which my pen shrinks from describing. Palaces burnt; the Via di Toledo and the adjacent streets strewed with the bodies of the wounded, and with bloody corpses; the groans of the dying drowned by the obscene cries of the soldiery and the populace; all around the smoking vestiges of the artillery; every where squalid contention; in every family agitation and grief; in every breast dread

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and terror; liberty extinguished; reaction triumphant and inebriated with joy.

This is an explicit account of the catastrophe which happened in Naples on the 15th May, 1848. The reactionary party, which had been vanquished on the 29th January, panted for its revenge; the anarchy which prevailed during the ministry of Bozzelli was the arsenal whence they took and furbished their arms; the agitation caused by the dissensions between the deputies and the King relative to the oath, made the young men run to arms; and in the unequal combat liberty fell.

To clear itself in the eyes of Europe from the blood which had been shed, to avert the execration of Italy and of all civilised nations from the head of the Prince, the Government alleged that they had used the right of legitimate defence, and had fought against republicans. But the deputies, the soldiers of the National Guard, the patriots of every class, did not contend

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for a republic, but to maintain the constitution sworn to by the King. If the Government, as they wished it to be believed, had truly acted for their lawful defence, towards what party would they have leaned after the victory? Doubtless they would have continued to co-operate efficaciously in the war, and they would have preserved the constitutional franchise in its purity. But on the contrary, the government hastened to recal their subsidies from Piedmont, to revoke the greater part of the concessions made, and, above all, they hastened to call back the troops commanded by Pepe, whose co-operation during all the month of June would infallibly have decided the liberation of Italy from foreign yoke.

The ministerial portfolios had fallen into blood. The antecedents of the members of the ministry were not such as to conciliate the esteem and confidence of the nation. Nevertheless, before judging them,

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their acts should be seen; no one can be brought to believe that men, reputed honourable, if not capable, should in a moment sully their reputations by making themselves the pliant instruments of reaction.

If the vile subterfuges employed by the ministry of the 16th May, to persuade the troops on their road to the Po not to follow their General-in-Chief, were minutely known, when, against every rule of discipline, they made themselves judges of the difficulties which arose between the said general and the government, more than ever would all Italy applaud those Neapolitan soldiers who passed the Po, and followed Pepe.

With regard to internal operations, the first was a manifesto, signed by the King, containing expressions of anger and menace; but it mentioned that the *Statuto* would be upheld, and by this means reassured the minds of the citizens. The facts plainly

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showed the signification to be given to these words. The National Guard of Naples was dissolved, the city was placed in a state of siege, and all arms were ordered with severe threats to be given up: and, as if these measures were not enough, the Chamber was also dissolved. At the same time the electoral franchise, conceded by the King on the 3rd of April, was declared subversive and anarchical, and therefore annulled. A new electoral law was promulged, differing little from that which Bozzelli had framed. The electoral colleges were convoked for the 13th of June, and the opening of the Parliament fixed for the beginning of July. At the same time incarcerations and trials began; the soldiers who had pillaged and stolen were rewarded with premiums and honorary distinctions; domiciliary visits were renewed; spies flourished anew; and the ancient police revived as by enchantment. General Michelangiolo Roberti for not cannonading



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the city from the Castle of St. Elmo, was dismissed; and the head of the ministry which dismissed him was Bozzelli, who, a prisoner himself in that castle in 1844, had received from the loyal old soldier every sort of courtesy and kindness.

In the mean time the sad news of the fiery state of the capital spread over the provinces, and generated in the minds of all immense irritation and cruel apprehensions; suspicions became stronger, and the fermentation indescribable. The whole kingdom was in agitation; in Calabria they proceeded to action, and in many of the communes took up arms. But these provinces were unprepared for a general rising; nor did a single citizen of note, or sufficiently esteemed to inspire the confidence necessary to direct such a movement, present himself. Therefore, on the side of the liberals, no experienced head inspiring universal confidence; with the remembrance of recent misfortunes

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from want of arms: on the side of the ferocious government, a sufficient number of troops; recent victory in the capital; with numberless examples of cruelties rarely heard of: in fine, telegraphs and steam-boats, thanks to which, losses and reverses (for there was a moment in which the royalists between Nicastro and Pizzo found themselves in rather critical circumstances) were easily repaired: such were the causes which occasioned the discomfiture of the liberals in Calabria; which rendered the government more proud, more averse to liberty, more powerful; and which place the nation in the sad necessity of again conquering their lost institutions.



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## CHAPTER X.

Passage of the Po.—Troops which follow Pepe.—First operations.—Fall of Vicenza.—Small remaining corps concentrated in Venice.—Advantages to Italy from its defence.—Description of the Lagoon.—Command of all the Italian troops in Venice conferred on the Author.—State of the fortifications, and of the troops in the garrison.

ALTHOUGH my order of the day of the 10th of June* was dated from Rovigo, I published it in Ferrara, where I remained in order to superintend the passage over the Po, of two battalions of Neapolitan volunteers, another of Milanese volunteers, which had been conducted to me by the fervent patriot, Cesare Correnti (whose two younger brothers were in this corps), and a battalion of Bolognese volunteers, with an excellent field-battery and a company of sappers. The passage was performed at Francolino. The Marquis Costabile, colonel of my staff, and Anau, two wealthy

* See chap. viii., p. 195.

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proprietors, and both warm patriots, provided all the expenses and requisites.

On arriving on the right bank of the river, we were received by a multitude of citizens from the neighbouring communes, who were devoted to the national cause; also by several companies of the civic guard, with bands of music; and lastly, by the young ladies of a neighbouring seminary, with their directress, who declaimed a patriotic poem. We all waited the two following days for the passage of my troops with the fine cavalry. When I arrived in Rovigo, my anxiety seemed to be doubled; I was ignorant how many would follow me, and I trusted but in few; while, on the other side, I saw with pain that the Roman forces, commanded by Durando, general of brigade in the pontifical service, were in serious danger in Vicenza. I know not by whose orders Durando occupied Vicenza, but certain it is, that if, instead of that city, the forces of Pius IX. had occupied Padua, which is not only a walled city, but also in great part sur-

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rounded by water, they might either have defended themselves there, or have fallen back on Venice or Mestre. At the same time, the enemy by advancing towards Padua would have removed to a greater distance from their forts, and the movement of the Sardinian troops would have rendered retreat more difficult; but Vicenza fell about the 11th of June, at the very moment when I was placed in the unfortunate position of finding myself followed by none, or very, few of those I had left on the other side the Po. Notwithstanding this, and without hesitation, I ordered two battalions of artillery from Padua to enter the Lagoon, and with the rest I prepared to go to Cavazere from Rovigo on the 12th, if my troops should execute my orders to cross the Po. A sorrow which we apprehend is still greatly increased by the certainty of its realisation. I was filled with the most lively grief when I knew, that of the troops I had left behind me, only one battalion of the 2nd Rifles, commanded by Major Ritucci, who had been my subaltern

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officer in 1815, had passed the river; and that the other battalions and squadrons had chosen to obey the King's orders by repassing the Tronto. I leave to other pens to narrate the particulars of this event, so fatal to Italy; mine is more willing to be employed in praising my contemporaries. All hope of being able to support the operations of Charles Albert being lost, I turned my mind to the best method of preventing the fall of Venice; therefore on the 13th of June, *viâ* Padua and Cavazere, I entered the Lagoon with the forces before-mentioned, to which were added the 2nd battalion of Neapolitan Rifles. These might well be called a model battalion; and there is no doubt, that had we not arrived in Venice with the above-named auxiliaries, Venice must have fallen before the end of June, from want of defenders, and still more of commanders.

I embarked at Chioggia, on a steam-vessel, for the city of Venice, on the same day, the 13th, and I arrived there after sunset. I knew not that I was expected,

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but on stepping on shore, I found myself surrounded by the affectionate Venetian population, whom I was destined afterwards to admire so much for their love of liberty, which made them heedless of all personal or family interests, and even of life itself.

The crowd which accompanied me to the Palazzo Soranzo, which had been chosen for my dwelling, pressed on me so much, that it was with difficulty I could breathe. They proclaimed me their deliverer, and truly I felt that I would willingly give my life to deserve the name.

Among the advantages which redound to Italy from the long defence of Venice, two are pre-eminent. The first is, to have shown the utter contempt of worldly goods and life, which the love of liberty excited in this people;—the second is, to have demonstrated to the youth of Italy, in how short a time, from absolute inexperience in warfare, they may become capable of contending with advantage

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against disciplined troops. I say, the youth of *Italy;* for the defenders of Venice were composed of Neapolitans, Romans, Venetians, Lombards, and even Piedmontese, since Charles Albert sent two battalions there for some time.

My readers must not expect from me a minute description of the Lagoon, which, in fact, is not easily described; still I must mention some particulars, remembering that in a journal which was published in Milan, in the summer of 1848, by some fervent literary patriots, it is said that Venice being entirely surrounded and defended by waters, its whole garrison might encamp on terra firma.

The entire lake, which is called Venetian, and the estuary, are nearly nine miles in circumference; but there are no fewer than fifty-four small and large forts to garrison. Those of Malghera, Brondolo, and Treporti are on terra firma, and could not be abandoned with impunity. Large ships of war cannot enter the Lagoon on account of the shallowness of the water

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in many places, and of the internal canals, which are partly artificial, and partly natural. Of its defence I must write at length, but I shall not say a word of my own ideas regarding the system to be followed in besieging it, since Venice is now occupied by the Austrians. It has been my singular fortune to pass my days alternately in camps, in chains, and in royal palaces; and recently I was whirled from Paris to the command of an army of Ferdinand the Second's, and then to that of the Italian troops in the Venetian republic. It may be my fate, at no distant day, to bear arms against the Ultramontanes who now contaminate Venice with their presence; but the unparalleled glory of so many centuries' duration is not destroyed by a few years of misfortune.

The first visit I received on the evening of my arrival in Venice, was from Manin, the President of the Republic. He described to me the situation of Venice, and proposed that I should take the command in chief of all its land troops. I accepted

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the offer, and he issued the following decree:—

"*To his Excellency Lieutenant-General Baron* GUGLIELMO PEPE, *&c. &c.*

"THE Provisional Government of the Venetian Republic nominates your Excellence, General-in-Chief of the land forces which are now in Venice.

"Your name is already great and revered in Italy, and the present title will add nothing to its lustre; but your name will be a favourable omen for the liberation of these provinces—a liberation which will soon render it more glorious.

"From the President of the Provisional Government, &c. "MANIN."

"VENICE, 15*th June*, 1848.

I accepted this command, for I had ever considered Venice the most important military position to preserve in Italy, since it is from thence that the Austrian empire must be attacked. The fortifications in

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the lake were almost abandoned, and the excellent Neapolitan officers of the engineer-corps who had followed me were most useful. The militia whom I found in Venice, when joined by those I had brought with me, amounted to 22,000 men, including a fine battalion of marines, and one of gendarmes, all old soldiers, but who could rarely be occupied in the defence, as they were employed in preserving internal order. The rest of the militia were divided into different regiments, into battalions, and into many subdivisions, and were chiefly commanded by adventurers. Each corps had rules of discipline, and ordinances, peculiar to itself, and, what is more extraordinary, they were paid and armed in different ways. Often in one company might be seen four different kinds of muskets. Garrison-service was wholly unknown. Among others, the garrison of Malghera, the key of Venice, was composed of 3000 of the civic garde mobile, who not finding sufficient room to lodge themselves in

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the two barracks which were there, lay on the ground in the open air, or within the barrack which they were beginning to construct.

To give an exact idea of the state in which I found the military population in the Lagoon on my arrival, and to remove all suspicion of exaggeration, I will transscribe the letter written to me by Tomaseo, the Minister of the Interior: he is one of the warmest patriots, and most eminent of the Italian literati, and could not persuade himself that I should succeed in so short a space of time in converting a set of men, so utterly deficient in discipline, into a valiant militia.

"VENICE, 17*th June.*

"DEAR GENERAL,

"This troop of idle undisciplined men is more dangerous than useful to Venice. We beseech you to send them away as soon as possible. Form a camp, which is earnestly demanded by every one. To you is confided our destiny, and

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perhaps that of all Italy. It is superfluous to recommend ourselves to you. Adieu, with affection.

"TOMASEO."

I produce this letter for the honour of Italy, when it appears that a vagabond set of youths, unused to arms, in a short time became disciplined troops, who assaulted with success a warlike enemy, not once or twice, but repeatedly.

But if among so many thousand militia many deserved the appellation of vagabonds, many others, perhaps a good half of the entire garrison, had left their families, who were more or less in easy circumstances, through love of Italy. Oftener than would be believed, I found in the ranks young volunteers of high families, either from the city or the provinces. I was particularly grieved to find that advancement was given, not to merit, but to satisfy the demands of the patriotic club.

When in presence of the enemy, promo-

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tion should be gained with the point of the sword. In some of the battalions, especially among the Lombards, there was not a single soldier deficient in education. In Venice, in Chioggia, and in some of the most populous islands, I endeavoured to prevent them from lodging in the inns, and spending there the money they had received from their parents. But I was rewarded by knowing that they read there with great attention my orders of the day, from which they often repeated different sentences. These orders were my war-horse. I generally met with so much kindness of feeling in these enthusiastic young men, that when I questioned them, first one and then another, concerning their wants, they concealed from me the privations they suffered, to avoid giving me pain; for not one of them was ignorant that I loved them as my sons. About three hundred young men of respectable families had formed themselves into a company to serve as artillery-men during the siege. They suffered privations with

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such patriotism, and exposed their lives with so much valour, that you might have thought them the contemporaries of Lycurgus.

I will here transcribe the order of the day which I addressed to the Neapolitans who had followed me to this side of the Po, and the manifesto to all the Italians, in which I justified, on public grounds, all that I had done since I embarked at Naples till my arrival in Venice.

*Order of the Day.*

"OFFICERS, Subaltern-officers, and Soldiers of the Neapolitan corps which passed the Po, by following your General you have proved yourselves possessed of the first virtue of a soldier, which is obedience; by adhering to the Italian standard in this sacred war, in spite of servile habits, of threats and of seduction, you have deserved well of the whole nation. When that part of Italy to which you specially belong shall have regained those liberal institutions, of which fraud and violence have

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deprived it, my voice will be raised to demand, that in your respective homes your names may be lastingly recorded.

"In the meantime, though your number is small, there is much to be done. You must at the least equal in valour our 10th of the line, and our 1st battalion of volunteers, who have obtained the applause of His Sardinian Majesty. You must show yourselves so prodigal of blood and life, that the world shall say that those who refused to follow you over the Po were seduced, for, being your contemporaries, their courage could not have failed.

"You will neither be exiles, nor banished, as the satellites of regal power have threatened. Every province which lies between the Tronto and the Alps is your country. I shall recommend all the Italian governments to treat you as their own troops, and give you the rewards you may deserve. Like a tender father, my endeavours for your welfare will never cease; your guarantee is the affection, increased and sanctified by misfortune, which I have



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cherished all my life for our common country, and which will follow me to the grave.

"LIEUT-GEN. GUGLIELMO PEPE,
*"Commander in Chief.*

"HEAD QUARTERS, VENICE, 15*th June.*"

*Order of the Day.*

"OFFICERS, subaltern Officers, and Soldiers of the Italian Militia, who, under various denominations, are now combating in the Venetian provinces, for the liberation of the entire Peninsula from the Austrian yoke; the Government of his Holiness, the Government of Venice, and the Commissioner of the Lombard Government, have desired that I should put myself at your head. I have accepted this great honour; and if any thing could give me consolation for having been followed by so few of the troops whom I had conducted to the banks of the Po, I should certainly have found it on assuming the command of the numerous troops belonging to different Italian provinces, which have

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long been dear to me, and are now more so than ever, from the flattering reception given to me by their inhabitants in my recent misfortunes.

"The foundation and summit of all military excellence is discipline. Valour, love of country, kind sentiments, energy of will, and firmness of purpose, are all of them virtues which you possess; but these, which give you so much superiority over the troops you are to contend with, will be fruitless without unity of command and prompt obedience. It will be my earnest care to introduce and consolidate both these among you. Without these, in spite of courage, alacrity, and ardour, you will not obtain over the enemy the advantages which all Italy expects from you, supported, as we are, by Charles Albert, the great prop of Italian independence.

"In future no soldier must leave his banner without obtaining the permission of his superiors, and the approbation of the Commander-in-Chief. No corps can execute any movement without the orders of



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their respective Generals, which must have been first confirmed by me. Reasoning and deliberation may beseem brothers, but cannot be allowed to warriors. By maintaining discipline with firmness, by punishing the smallest failings, which if passed over might lead to serious evils, I shall the most efficaciously promote your well being. I shall refer every act that deserves reward to your respective governments, nor shall I rest till I have obtained it; I shall take care that, through the medium of the official gazettes, those of your deeds which are worthy the rising destinies of Italy, our common country for which you have taken up arms, may be especially made known, to your contemporaries, to your parents, to all of whom you most desire the esteem and affection. I hope thus to convince you that just and rigorous discipline is the supreme necessity of war, and my mind will rejoice only when I can praise you with truth, and reward you according to your deserts.

"G. PEPE.

"VENICE, 18*th June*, 1848."

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## *Order of the Day.*

*To the Italians, and particularly the People of Bologna, as a mark of my gratitude towards them.*

"AFTER twenty-seven years of an exile, which itself was not my first, I returned to my native country. The Presidency of a Ministry of my choice, with the portfolios of war and marine, were offered me; but the King not acceding to my programme, which tended to enlarge the constitution, I accepted the command-in-chief of the army destined to combat the Austrians.

"The independence of Italy, and the desire to see the valour of the Neapolitans, who had shed so much blood in the cause of liberty, shine on the field of battle, was ever the ardent wish of my life. I, therefore, used all my efforts to overcome the innumerable difficulties with which the expedition was sought to be retarded. Thus I had decided the Ministry on disembarking myself and a portion of the troops at Venice, when suddenly this salu-

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tary design was impeded, and instructions were given me to wait for new orders between Bologna and Ferrara. Nevertheless, I had scarcely re-united the greater part of the forces, than I wrote to His Sardinian Majesty, that I should speedily continue my march to the Venetian provinces, without waiting for further orders from Naples. When I was on the eve of executing this project, the Neapolitan Ministry of the 15th May (a day of painful recollections) sent a General to me, with orders not to advance against the Austrians, but to conduct the army back into the kingdom, where it would have been employed in combating the defenders of the Chamber of Deputies. But as the Ministry were not ignorant of my sentiments, they ordered the same General to make the troops, who had not yet arrived in Bologna, turn back; to exhort the officers and subaltern officers of the entire corps, both by words and writings, not to follow their Commander-in-Chief if he should refuse to retreat, under pain of being considered

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outlaws, and being banished their country; thus ruining their career, and abandoning their wives and children to misery. In spite of so much perfidy, I ordered the 1st division to pass the Po on the 26th of May; but seduction had already produced its sad effects, and you all know how the two brigades which had advanced to Ferrara, refusing obedience to their commanders, turned back towards Rimini, where they were led to expect that the Neapolitan fleet would take them up and convey them to Naples. Many officers, faithful to honour, did not follow the mutineers. Colonel Lahalle, who commanded the 2nd brigade, being compelled to accompany them, generously preferred death to dishonour, and with his own hand he put an end to a life which could no longer serve Italian independence. Colonel Testa, from the intensity of his anguish, was struck with apoplexy.

"These horrid examples did not vanquish my firm resolve of aiding the common cause, and I directed that on the 30th May the Colonel of the 1st Dragoons, followed

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by his regiment and three battalions, should cross the Po near Stellata, and the rest of the troops on the following day. Then the head officers of the regiments declared, that it being now known to all the officers and soldiers that I was acting against the King's will, this movement would expose them to a renewal of the sad scene offered by the 1st division at Ferrara. Yielding to necessity, and in the hope of aiding the Italian war, I waited for an answer from the Neapolitan government; but though many days had elapsed beyond the time needful for a speedy answer, with signal bad faith they maintained an artful silence. In the meantime events were ripening in Venice. The war commissioners of Venice, Rovigo, and Padua, invoked our assistance in the holy cause with the troops which remained to me. Ever an Italian, I determined to pass the Po, and I gave precise orders to this effect. In very many officers servile habits prevailed over sentiments of military honour; but an excellent battery of artillery, and a company of sappers, gave a

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noble example. All were most valuable, and, commanded by the good Major Moreno, they immediately passed in company with two battalions of volunteers. Then Major Ritucci, whom I rejoice to call of my school, as he was formerly my subordinate, having arrived on the banks of the river, pronounced these noble words, "Onwards is honour, on that side dishonour;" and the soldiers passed on. I was followed by all the officers on my staff, and joined by several officers and some detachments.

"The division of infantry and that of cavalry, so much applauded by the patriotic Bolognese, abandoned me. My hopes of aiding the Italian cause, and of placing Neapolitan military glory in relief, thus proving delusive, I thought of offering my services to Charles Albert as a simple volunteer. But called to the succour of Venice, with my few remaining troops, I was entrusted by its government with the command of the forces assembled here, and the Cardinal Legate of Ferrara, in the name of the Consulta, presided over by

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him, desires I should assume that of the Pontifical forces on this side the Po.

" It would ill accord with my sentiments and with my life, to refuse to act in the service of Italian independence. I have, therefore, accepted the commands conferred on me. May success correspond with my zeal. May fortune prove favourable. It is not in her power to diminish my love for Italy. Wherever I have been she has been my pride, as well as my comfort in adversity.

" GUGLIELMO PEPE.

"VENICE, *June* 17*th*, 1848."

In the meantime, I hastened to write to his Sardinian Majesty, giving him notice of all that had happened to me, and of the command which I had accepted in Venice; and I added, that whenever he could place under my orders one of his brigades and the squadron commanded by the Vice-Admiral Albini, I would disembark at Trieste, not in order to occupy it, but to send all its riches to Venice, together with

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their merchant and war vessels; and that, moreover, with these troops I would attack the enemy, or at least molest their forces between the Isonzo and Rovigo. But the Sardinian King, whose ardour in the Italian cause I admired, but never his military talents, nor, above all, his art in choosing good superior officers, instead of responding to my proposal, addressed to me the following letter through General Salasco, chief of his staff:—

"*From Head Quarters,*
"VALEGGIO, *19th June,* 1848.

"GENERAL FERRARI has this moment arrived from Rome, sent to his Majesty from the Pontifical government. The King, considering that it would be both advantageous and reasonable that the different corps, either of the regular troops or of the militia and volunteers of the Pontifical state, now bearing arms in the Venetian territories, who were not, and cannot be, comprehended in the convention for the reduction of Vicenza on the

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11th inst., should act in concert under one commander, has judged expedient to adhere to the demand of the above esteemed General Ferrari, charging him in the interests of the common cause to assume the command of such troops under the superior authority of your Excellency, to whose rank and position belongs the command of all the Venetian troops, without distinction, with the approbation and under the direction of H. M. the King of Sardinia, General-in-Chief of all the forces combating for the independence of Italy.

"H. M. trusts that these various troops, united under the direction of your Excellency, regularly distributed and well conducted, may not only defend Venice effectively, but, should the opportunity present itself, may act on the offensive on *terra firma*, and molest the enemy in the possession of the city they have recovered, or force them to keep strong garrisons drawn from their campaign forces.

"Signor Leopardi, minister of the Neapolitan government to his Majesty, will

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write more fully to your Excellency on these subjects. I confine myself to the brief orders already expressed, and beg your Excellency to be assured of my distinguished consideration.

"SALASCO,

"*Lieut. Gen., Chief of the Staff.*"

The Pontifical government had conferred on me not only the command of the four legions which I found in Venice, but moreover the power to dismiss the officers of every grade whom I thought unfit for service, as well as to bestow rewards on the deserving. Ferrari, who, from a retired lieutenant-colonel in France, had been received in Rome with the rank of brigadier-general, at the end of May had been deprived of his command by the Roman government, which was not satisfied with his services. This circumstance was contrary to the orders of Charles Albert; but as I was very desirous of satisfying him, remembering that on him depended the expulsion of the Austrians, I did not fail

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to confer the command of the four legions on General Ferrari, keeping watch over his conduct.

In the meantime, the energetic and most Italian government of Lombardy issued the following decree:—

"*The Provisional Government of Lombardy decrees,*—

"1st. All the Neapolitan officers, soldiers, and volunteers, of whatever rank and branch of the service, who have followed the Italian banner of General Guglielmo Pepe, shall remain officers and soldiers of the Italian army, and shall, whenever they demand it, be inscribed on the list of the Lombard army.

"They will retain their rank and pay, in accordance with these offers, and will enjoy the same rights as the officers and soldiers of the Lombardo-Milanese army.

"CASATI, *President.*

"*23rd June*, 1848."

From the above decree, and other daily

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occurrences, may be gathered the progress we had already made in Italian fraternity; and to show how earnestly I endeavoured to augment these feelings of union, to which, at the first favourable occasion, we must owe our salvation, I shall transcribe later my order of the day for the 23rd of August.

We were now near the end of June; and as the enemy only blockaded us, without entering the Lagoon for offensive operations, I profited by this state of comparative repose, to ameliorate the condition of the militia as to their clothing, providing them also with the best sleeping quarters I could obtain; and, more than all, I persevered in getting them bread of the best quality. I then superintended their instruction and discipline, which was no easy task, as they were dispersed in the numerous forts. I was unable to put in execution my dominant idea of exercising them in shooting at a mark, on account of the indispensable necessity of sparing our ammunition.

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I was expecting some favourable news from the Sardinian camp, when I received the following letter from the King's head-quarters at Roverbella :—

"*4th July.*

"THIS morning I received the courteous reply of the 30th of June, which your Excellency sent me from Venice.

"H. M., to whom I have communicated it, observed with much satisfaction your Excellency's plan for the defence of that unique city and, if necessary, the adjacent *terra firma*, when the organisation of the troops will allow this with greater success.

"Eighteen thousand five hundred men present some force; but discipline and homogeneity are still wanting, or at least not thoroughly infused. However, your Excellency's experience, with a good direction on one hand, and on the other a love of their country and a firm will, may overcome many obstacles.

"There is no doubt that the King will expedite some of his troops to Venice,

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provided their march along the coast (the order being already given for three battalions) be not retarded in the Pontifical states, and in their embarkation on the Po for Venice.

"I beg your Excellency to accept my best wishes for the success of your operations, and at the same time the assurance, &c. &c.

"SALASCO."



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## CHAPTER XI.

From the 1st of July till 13th August.—Changes of government.—Fusion of Venice with Lombardy.—Fall of Lombardy.—Reverses of Sardinia.—Opinion on the campaign of 1848.

It has ever been my system not to leave a single negligence unpunished, whether committed by a soldier or an officer, whether slight or serious. But at the same time, and in order that this severity should be, and should seem to be, really paternal, I tempered it by orders of the day, by constant reviews, and by a continual care of the soldier's well-being. These habits were more than usually needful in the Lagoon, where the troops were often in want even of straw; where they slept on the bare ground, and mattresses were very rare! The Government, which was well disposed, took much pains to supply these wants, but many months elapsed before they had accomplished it. I went about

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all the islands in order to cheer the soldiers in their privations, to see that they did not miss their drill, and above all that discipline did not suffer. A General's most arduous task is to maintain the rigour of discipline in the midst of privations; and especially when the soldiers began to fall victims to the epidemic malady which visited the two camps, both besiegers and besieged.

When the Neapolitans who had followed me were reviewed on the Piazza of San Marco, being well clothed, and executing the military movements with precision, they were applauded with long clapping of hands by the multitude, and I fancied how the applause would have been doubled on this side the Po, if *all* had crossed it.

While on one side I was attending to the welfare, discipline, and instruction of my troops, it was necessary also to render them fit for war, by means of reconnoissances and sorties of an importance proportioned to the circumstances of the locality on which they were to act, and to the number of the enemy. This last knowledge it was



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most difficult for me to obtain, for the Venetian government never had a well organised spy system. Even from Bologna, when I supposed we might have to combat in the varied fields of the Venetian provinces, I wrote to the Government to find me a good exploring company, and some spies; for I should have preferred an engagement with 10,000 men, and good information of the enemy's movements, to 20,000 men without it. A General without good spies is, as it were, blind.

I began with small sorties; little by little the soldiers became accustomed to face the Austrians. In divers encounters I had reason to be satisfied with my troops, who related with pleasure all the partial encounters, and pointed out those who had most distinguished themselves. By the press and the journals I always excited the patriotism which existed in the hearts of those valiant youths. Finally I decided on a bolder reconnoissance, which I made known by the following order of the day:—

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"VENICE, *8th July*, 1848.

"THE Commander-in-Chief, after organising the troops, was desirous to begin such operations as were possible in the present state of the blockade of Venice, by land. He resolved, therefore, to explore the Cavanella on the Adige, a place of some importance seven miles from Brondolo, and where he had reason to believe from intelligence received, that the Austrians would be found with a small garrison, and works not far advanced. General Ferrari was charged with the execution of the reconnoissance, regulating his movements according to circumstances, and avoiding exposure to serious loss. The forces confided to him departed for Chioggia, and arrived at Brondolo. They passed the canal in boats, and proceeded to Sta. Anna, from whence they marched in three columns upon Cavanella. The left column, composed of artillery, and the Lombard battalion under Major Novara, and led by Lieutenant-Colonel Ulloa,

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proceeded by the left bank of the Adige in order to pass that river at Portesine; the middle column, composed of the Bolognese battalion of Colonel Bignami, and the Neapolitan battalion of Major Materazzo, followed the road of Romea; the Trivigiano battalion of Colonel Amigo proceeded along the right bank of the canal of the Valle. The fire of the three columns of artillery compelled the enemy's detachments to withdraw within the fort. Our men, regardless of their fire, pushed on till within musket shot; the left column was within the same distance, in consequence of the narrowness of the river. Having thus occupied two small houses opposite the Cavanella, and beyond reach of the cannon, many of the riflemen, shooting from the heights, committed great havoc among the Austrians. It would be impossible to say which of the four battalions of volunteers showed the most courage. General Ferrari, with the intelligence and intrepidity which distinguish him, seeing the ardour of the brave youths under his

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command, prolonged the combat beyond what was needful in a military reconnoissance; so much the more that the Austrians, advertised of our movements, had received strong succours from Portalonga and Cavarzere, and the works already completed by them were much more considerable than had been reported, furnished with parapets fifteen feet above the ground, and surrounded by a ditch which was full of water.

"Our loss was about forty wounded, and ten killed; a loss, according to all probability, much inferior to the enemy's. Of the four battalions, that of Trivigiano, having been obliged to advance on disadvantageous ground, lost more than the others. There were no troops of the line engaged, except the Neapolitan artillery, who were efficaciously seconded by some Venetian soldiers employed in the train; they showed what Italy might have expected from that army which a vile Government was not ashamed to recal from the banks of the Po.

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"On receiving orders to retreat, the Lombards manifested some repugnance; they were displeased at being obliged to withdraw the Italian banner which they had hoisted on one of the houses they had occupied. This was a sentiment honourable in itself, but which it was necessary for the preservation of discipline to repress; for that virtue is superior even to courage, since by that alone can impetuosity be changed into valour, and success be assured, by bridling impatience in attaining it. Let all the officers, then, insist upon discipline from their subordinates as the basis of all military ordinances, and the guarantee of final victory.

"The General-in-Chief will publish the names of the killed and wounded, and of those who, in the midst of so much valour, have succeeded in distinguishing themselves.

"GENERAL PEPE."

To preserve discipline and military ardour at the same time, I was compelled

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to state the incidents of that day not very exactly. General St. Fermo, who commanded the district of Chioggia, and who was charged to let me know precisely all the works which the enemy had executed for the defence of the small fort called Cavanella, on the Adige, was ill-informed, and I did not find it easy to supersede him. But in spite of the works and the fortifications which had been erected, General Ferrari might have made himself master of the fort, thanks to the enthusiasm of the four battalions under his command, since from above the trees, our troops obliged the enemy to abandon the offensive. As to Ferrari, if in my order of the day I had not said that I had desired to limit myself to a reconnoissance, I must have summoned him before a council of war. The confidence of the soldiers in themselves would thereby have been greatly diminished, and Ferrari, at the least, would have been dismissed. The Lombard soldiers wished to kill him, and the people of Chioggia wanted to make an

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assault on his house, which obliged him to escape in the night. I arranged some expressions in my order of the day in time to save him.

The Venetian assembly met on the 6th of July, in the Ducal palace, and the fusion of Venice with the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom, as it was called, and the ancient Piedmontese provinces, was agreed on. By these means Italy was to see a new state arise, with nearly eleven millions of inhabitants; among whom would be numbered the most ancient republics of Italy, which had been so illustrious in the middle ages, the Genoese and the Venetian.

The President of the Provisional Government was Castelli, a Venetian advocate. My heart rejoiced to see the basis of such a kingdom formed in Italy, which, to a numerous population, added the advantage of commanding the Adriatic; and on its opposite shores, had the powerful Genoa, Spezzia, and the Alps. Will it be believed, that, though few, still there were some who disapproved of such a fortunate combination,

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and who marvelled to see me in favour of Charles Albert, who would thus become a powerful prince. They had forgotten the vicissitudes of my life, and my conduct towards the five last kings of Naples, whose personal kindness, and the high rank I held in the army, had never induced me to take their interests to heart, in preference to those of my country: true, they did not accuse me of feeble patriotism, but of error in my views. He who has no other aim or interest than his country's welfare, is rarely mistaken in the choice of means to attain it.

Let me return to my soldiers, for whose improvement in order, discipline, and every other quality, I published the following order of the day:—

"ALL the Forts of the Estuary continue to be divided into four *circondarii*, or districts:—

"1st. Malghera, commanded by General Rizzardi;

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"2nd. The shores of Palestrina, commanded by Colonel Raffaeli;

"3rd. Chioggia, commanded by General Sanfermo;

"4th. Mazzerbo, commanded by Major Belli.

"The Commanders of the Forts will correspond with the Chiefs of their districts, and the latter directly with the General-in-Chief, without whose permission no movement can be executed, either in the *personnel* or the *materiel*.

"If a movement is performed, the Commander of the district shall give information of it to the Committee of War.

"The General of the Engineers and Artillery, whenever he desires to add to, or diminish, the number of fire-arms, or to transfer them from one fort to another, must obtain the permission of the Commander-in-Chief.

"No Commander of the forts, or Chief of district, can admit any parley from the enemy without the permission of the General-in-Chief.

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"The Chief of a district, in writing to the General-in-Chief, must address to Lieut.-Colonel Avesani, head of the staff for the forts, to be transmitted to the General-in-Chief.

"GUGLIELMO PEPE,

"*Commander-in-Chief.*

"VENICE, 10*th July*, 1848."

The division of the militia among the numerous forts, was a calamity which was greatly increased by the privations to which I have before alluded. I was accustomed to assemble first one and then another battalion, in order to ascertain the spirit by which they were animated, and the progress they had made in military knowledge. Having received the Lombard battalion and that of Bologna on the 4th of July, I wrote the following letter to the Lombard government, which becoming public in Venice, inspired emulation, and demonstrated the confidence I placed in them :—

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"SIGNOR PRESIDENTE,

"On the 4th instant, I reviewed two battalions of volunteers, one from Milan, the other from Bologna. The entire population ran to behold the admirable appearance of these young men, and admired their martial deportment, which might compare with that of soldiers long used to camps. Compelled by our local position to subject them to the arduous trials of war, I have had the satisfaction to find my hopes not only fulfilled, but surpassed; and the confidence I reposed in them has been fully justified.

"It will be evident, from the annexed order of the day, that these volunteers neither resemble those of whom Washington complained so much, and still less can they be compared to those whom Dumouriez turned out of his army.

"I rejoice, not only as their Commander-in-Chief, but for all Italy, whose cause is sure to triumph, since young men, so unused to arms, possess such military qualifications.

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"I take this opportunity of thanking the Lombard government for their generosity in allowing my few followers to fraternise with their soldiers.

"While valuing with due gratitude this mark of warm benevolence, I trust that the entire Neapolitan nation may soon worthily respond to such a noble proof of fraternal feeling, by sending a fresh army to combat for Italian independence, which may cancel the shame of that, which being confounded and seduced in a thousand unworthy ways, alike odious and destructive of all discipline, was made to deviate from the path of honour.

"This may be expected from the brave efforts which are now being made in Southern Italy, especially in Calabria, where the inhabitants were ever renowned for tenacity of purpose and indomitable valour. By their magnanimous efforts, will certainly fall that blinded and malevolent Government which has suppressed all rights, violated every duty, and loosened the bonds of wickedness in such a manner,

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that men can no longer tolerate, and Providence cannot fail to punish it.

"GENERAL G. PEPE.

"VENICE, 10*th July*, 1848."

From administrative cares and discipline, we must now come to facts, and in the next order of the day will be seen the particulars of the sortie which was made on the 13th July, and followed by another at Malghera, and several more in different parts of the lake.

"VENICE, 13*th July*, 1848.

"COLONEL BELLUZZI, Commandant of the fort of Malghera, perceived on the 9th, that the Austrians had augmented their advanced posts, and were preparing to construct a battery from the lunette, No. 12. He commanded 200 Neapolitans, partly of the line and partly volunteers, 200 Roman volunteers, and as many Swiss, under the command of Colonel Pianciani, having for chief of his staff Captain Paschetta, to attack these works. This order was exe-

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cuted by the troops with promptitude and alacrity, and the Italian flag was seen waving among the works which a moment before the enemy had been preparing. The impetuosity of the assailants was great; the Neapolitans, with a few Romans mixed with them, advanced with their bayonets fixed, and were efficaciously seconded by a sharp fire from the remaining Romans and Swiss. The enemy tried with their cavalry to seize one of our colours, but a shell thrown from a howitzer of the fort, (as was continually done), was directed against them so as to cause great havoc, and a precipitate retreat. The result of this sortie was to drive out the enemy from three houses they had occupied, with the intention of making them a basis for permanent offensive operations. They were driven back on the woods of Mestre, and the intentions of the sortie being accomplished, the Commandant ordered the retreat, and had much difficulty in preventing the other volunteers from joining the combat with-



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out orders. This impatient ardour, though springing from noble feelings, was nevertheless an infraction of discipline which must be religiously observed, and a repetition of similar acts would compel the Commander-in-Chief, though with great grief, to use just severity.

"In the next order of the day he will publish the names of the killed and wounded, and of those who particularly distinguished themselves at Cavanella on the 7th, and at Malghera on the 9th inst.

"In the meantime he is happy to announce that according to the reports received in the affair of Cavanella, the enemy lost not fewer than eighty-five men, among whom was the Commander of the fort, and had one hundred and seven wounded.

"On visiting the hospital of the wounded in Venice, a grenadier, a native of Calabria, who had had his right arm amputated, said to the General, "I would give my remaining arm for Italy;" and after a

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moment's pause he added, "but how can I gain my livelihood without my right arm?" The General replied, "I will be to you a father, and I have already begged my good brother to secure you an easy existence, when he and I shall be no more." At these words a smile of content appeared on the lips of this brave man, who was so gloriously mutilated.

"It is gratifying to know, that while some brave Calabrese are shedding their blood in defence of the classical Lagoon (an example of fraternal feeling which unites one extremity of Italy with the other); the Calabrian population are rising in great force in their native mountains to put down a miserable government, which, to conceal all its other evil deeds, had been a traitor to the Italian cause. When it is overthrown, the first effect of victorious liberty in those countries would be to make them participate in the sacred cause of common independence by sending numerous armies to their aid.

"GENERAL G. PEPE."



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After the sortie alluded to in the above order of the day, another was made on the 21st of the same month, in which our Neapolitans exhibited eminent ability and valour.

## *The Provisional Government of Venice.*

BULLETIN OF WAR.

"VENICE, 21*st July*, 1848.

"IT being judged expedient for the better defence of the fortress of Malghera, to pull down the guard-house on the railroad, opposite the Orlando road, and to disperse the materials, a sortie from the fort for this purpose was ordered yesterday.

"A company of the second battalion of Neapolitan Chasseurs were led by Major Ferdinando Rittuci: the Neapolitan sappers, with a good number of workmen from the peasantry, followed Lieutenant Leopoldo Castellani; Vladimiro Chiavacci, Major of the Engineers, commanded the expedition.

"They met with such vigorous resistance

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on the part of the enemy, as to require the assistance of a second company of Neapolitan Chasseurs, who were already posted on the covered way, and who were supported by a third company when they moved. The enemy had some field pieces; but from the lunette, No. 12, from other bastions, and from the fort of Rizzardi, our artillery supported our operations with much skill, and played on the enemy whenever they were assembled in close column, or whenever the fire of their artillery became troublesome. The contest continued till mid-day, when the house was knocked down, the materials removed, and the enemy considerably worsted.

"Major Chiavacci, whose talents have hitherto been so useful in improving the fortifications, exhibited on this occasion distinguished abilities and intrepidity; he unhappily received a wound in his right arm. Lieutenant Leopoldo Castellani, and Major Ferdinando Rittuci also deserve special mention for their military valour and excellent command.

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"The Neapolitan miner, Biagio Veneroso, was equally courageous in this brilliant encounter of arms. He dared spontaneously to enter the mined house after two mines had been sprung, in order to kindle a third, which delayed lighting, and having taken the burning rope from the house, he placed it in such a manner as to obtain directly the desired effect. Besides Major Chiavacci, three more Neapolitan soldiers were wounded, as also the Milanese engineer Carlo del Vitto (who bravely seconded the operations under Major Chiavacci), and the labourer Giovanni Battista Favaretto.

"In spite of the enemy's strength, these are our only losses; while on their side the loss was much more considerable.

"ZENNARI,

"*Secretary-General to the Provisional Government.*"

At this time the Sardo-Venetian squadron which had been sent to blockade Trieste, returned to the Venetian shores, on account of the protest of France, of England, and of the Germanic Confederation. Three

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Sardinian battalions disembarked on the Lagoon: these belonged to the corps de reserve.

In reviewing them I found not only that they belonged to the reserve, but that they had all been fathers of families for twelve years or more.

This is certainly a bad method, to leave men so long in their homes; for after long habits of domestic life men lose their vigour, and are unfit to be called into the camp, and lead the life of soldiers.

According to my opinion, a soldier who enters the reserve should not remain in it more than five years at the utmost.

Besides the arrival of three battalions, which was considered a pledge of further assistance, the multitude were rejoiced by the news which arrived of the blockade of Mantua. On the contrary, the few who understood military matters, were grieved to find that the King persisted in remaining in line of battle before Verona, Mantua, and Lignana, occupying a long line, and instead of executing decisive movements

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forward, only changing the order of his encampments.

This system, moreover, was not at all suited to the temperament of the Italian soldier, who requires as much as possible to be kept in constant activity.

Before passing the Po I regarded this manner of proceeding as most prejudicial.

I had written to the Lombard government to request them to send what was necessary for the troops under my orders: the fusion of the two countries had given me the right to make this demand. They answered me as follows:—

"MILAN, 20*th July*, 1848.

"EXCELLENCY,

"The picture which your Excellency, in your letter of the 13th inst., has drawn of the state of the troops in the Venetian territory, and which you have organised, has greatly moved this government, and principally because at this moment it is unable to satisfy your demands as it would wish.

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"Our finances are exhausted by the many expenses we have had to bear during this war, nor for the moment can we count on the generosity of the citizens who are daily subjected to new and heavy calls. Still we hope that our position will improve with time, and that by September we may be able to provide your troops with the most indispensable of the objects which your Excellency points out.

"In the meantime this government confides in the authority of your Excellency's name and mind to maintain the discipline of these troops, and induce that generous abnegation which the present circumstances of our country demand of all her sons.

"I assure your Excellency, &c. &c.

"BORROMEA."

In the meantime Carlo Alberto suffered such reverses, that he was forced to retire, and abandon even Milan. I shall revert to this fatal misfortune at the end of this

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chapter; I must here continue to narrate the military and political events of Venice.

I received from the Lombard government the two following letters, which I think will be interesting:—

"MILAN, *July* 31*st*, 1848.

"THE Austrians, elated by the late events, have obliged the Piedmontese army to abandon the line of the Mincio, and retire on the Oglio; and they seem to intend to fall suddenly on Milan with all their concentrated troops. Carlo Alberto has already made known his intention of abandoning the line of the Oglio, in order to cover Milan, and taking that of the Adda. The Germans, with their accustomed perfidious arts, will not fail to make it believed that the Piedmontese army is in a state of dissolution. This is not at all the case. The army may be said to be entire. Their formidable artillery has sustained no loss, the cavalry too is complete. The dispersion of some corps, com-

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posed almost entirely of recruits and soldiers of the reserve, was the cause of the alarm into which the population was thrown. This desertion was the effect of the moral depression occasioned by the retreat.

"The Piedmontese army was then obliged to retire, not on account of any overthrow in the field, but from the circumstance of having been three days without provisions. The unexpected concentration of more than 45,000 men, in a country which for many months had been devastated by war, the incursions made by the German cavalry in all the surrounding country, scaring away all the purveyors of provisions for the Italian army, had so completely weakened the strength of the soldiers, that they were unable to fight, and weeping with rage, they were obliged to retire before an enemy whom they had vanquished in every encounter. But now the Piedmontese army is recovering its pristine energy; and if ever the enemy, rendered

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audacious by success, and by the last reinforcements received from the Tyrol, should attempt to fall upon Milan, we doubt not that they will meet with a resistance equal to that which inaugurated this war four months ago.

"Other Lombard cities are also disposed to resist most vigorously. Here, at Milan, in order to concentrate every means of defence, a committee of public safety, with extraordinary powers, has been instituted. The spirit of the population is most satisfactory. All, indiscriminately, are disposed to be martyrs in the holy cause of Italian independence, rather than fall again under a foreign yoke. Under the direction of expert military engineers, marvellous entrenchments are being prepared, in which thousands of persons are employed. A part of our National Guard, amidst the applause of the entire population, departed yesterday to join the line on the Adda, which a commission of engineers and other military men are intending to fortify strongly, even before the arrival of the

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Piedmontese army, whose head-quarters are now at Cremona. The defence of Brescia is confided to our valiant General, Griffini, and the Lombard column of General Perrone is also gone in that direction. Garibaldi, with some thousand volunteers, full of enthusiasm for their chief, is advancing on Bergamo, to revolutionise that country and join Griffini at Brescia. The adventures of the Italian army, instead of discouraging Piedmont and Genoa, have revived the revolutionary enthusiasm, and the ardour is inexpressible. All the National Guard rise *en masse* to rush into Lombardy. The priests preach the holy war, and encourage the population rather to gain the crown of martyrdom than expose Italy to the infamy of seeing a revolution, commenced under such noble auspices, again vilely subdued.

"In order that the entire forces of the Italian nation may complete the total destruction of the invader, even before the arrival of French succour, it is necessary that the insurrection should spread to

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every point of upper Italy, or, at least, that a more powerful diversion should take place in the rear of the enemy.

"For this purpose, the Provisional Lombard government, with the concurrence of the Committee of Defence, invites you, General, to make every endeavour again to take the offensive against the Austrians who are blockading Venice, in order to advance towards, and, if possible to revolutionise, the Venetian territory. You may, in case of necessity, put yourself in communication with the Commander of the Pontifical troops on the other side the Po, in order that he may join his forces to yours.

"For this purpose the Lombard government is writing, this day, to the Lombard Commissary of War in Bologna, in order that the troops there, and the valiant population, may hasten to the succour of Lombardy.

"STRIGELLI.
A. ANELLI.
GIULINI."

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"MILAN, 1st *August*, 1848.

"WE have received official notice that her Britannic Majesty's Ambassador at Turin has arrived at his Sardinian Majesty's camp, from whence he has repaired to the Austrian camp, to propose a suspension of arms. It is added, but not officially, that the non-acceptation of this suspension would provoke an intervention on the part of England and France.

"We give your Excellency this early notice in order that you may deliberate on the movement of your troops with the intention of occupying as large a portion of the Italian territory as possible. It is needless that we should demonstrate to your Excellency more fully, of what importance such a movement would be in ulterior treaties.

"GIULINI.
AL. ANELLI.
A. CARBONERA.
P. LITTA."

While the vicissitudes of the war were proceeding thus inauspiciously in Lom-

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bardy, the internal affairs of Rome did not present a more favourable aspect; as will be seen in the following Letter from Count Mamiani:—

"My dear General,

"The reasons which you give me for not letting the Roman volunteers quit Venice are quite convincing, and I see that we have small hope of succour from your side. I have also written to the Pro-legate of Bologna, to require an explanation of the demand which the Senator of that place has made to this Government for the Roman troops. Such an abuse of authority is really excessive and intolerable. But I shall not witness its amendment, for to-morrow I cease to *sign*, and shall completely quit the Ministry, never to return to it. The Pope is ill-advised, and things are going on from bad to worse. With respect to the muskets which you ask for, I hope that 800 will be sent you for the present, but I beg you to reiterate your demand to Count Campello, Minister

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of War, who succeeded to Doria four days ago; that is, after I thought I had settled this matter.

"Adieu, yours, &c.,

"MAMIANI.

"THE QUIRINAL, *2nd August*, 1848."

That the political and military events which succeeded one another with such rapidity may be more completely understood, I will insert a letter written to me by the President Castelli, which regards the politics of that moment.

"EXCELLENCY,

"It being settled that, to-morrow morning, 7th instant, at nine o'clock, the possession of the city and provinces of Venice shall be solemnly made over to the Royal Commissioner of his Majesty the King of Sardinia, the Government has the honour to invite your Excellency to assist at this ceremony.

"From the Provisional Government, &c.,

"J. CASTELLI, *President.*

"VENICE, *6th August.*"



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This possession of the provinces and city, of which Castelli wrote, was of short duration. Castelli quitted the Presidency, and the Sardinian General, Colli, was appointed in his place, who contributed not a little to make me lose a part of the Neapolitan troops, who had followed me on this side the Po. The Neapolitan government wrote to desire its Consul in Venice to employ every means to make the Neapolitan soldiers return into the kingdom. The Consul assured them that they would be well received; and they received, at the same time, pressing letters from their families, who were in fear of dying in misery. The officers who desired to return presented themselves to General Colli, who conceived that he had no right to retain, against their will, military men who were claimed by their King. After long discussions between me and the President, they were allowed to depart. I was of opinion that the officers alone, who desired to go, should join the brave 10th of the line, then fighting with so much

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bravery for Charles Albert, and that they should afterwards return to their country.

The Neapolitan forces remaining in Venice were — eight pieces, with their respective ammunition-carriages; two battalions of volunteers; nearly three hundred soldiers of all arms; and twenty officers of the engineer corps. The service which the few remaining Neapolitans were of in the defence of Venice will appear hereafter. The admiration which their valour and discipline excited in the inhabitants of Venice, even to the last hour before it surrendered, was unbounded.

On the 12th of August, from Vigevano, Charles Albert published a proclamation which had far more merit than his operations of strategy and organisation. An armistice was agreed to, to the hard conditions of which the vanquished were obliged to submit. The fortresses of Peschiera, Rocca, Anfo, and Osapo, were to be evacuated by the Sardinians. All that had been ceded to them of the Austrian possessions was to be restored.



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The land and sea forces of the King of Sardinia were to abandon Venice, its port, and territory.

The consternation of the brave people of the Lagoon at this news may be imagined. The government established in Venice in the name of the Sardinian King departed immediately. Soon after sunset the people assembled under my windows, loudly declaring that they trusted their safety to me alone. They proclaimed me Dictator, and insisted on accompanying me to the government palace. Without hesitation, I went into the midst of the assembled multitude, who crowded round me so as to endanger my life. On arriving at the place where the government was held, the governing commissioners, Colli, Castelli, and Cibrario, were not to be seen: from fear of the popular frenzy, they had taken refuge elsewhere.

I waited till the popular acclamations proclaiming me Dictator were calmed, and then, turning to an impromptu deputation which had accompanied me, and to other

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popular notabilities, I said to them, "For our Italy and for Venice, which I love as dearly as all her contemporaries, I would willingly submit to any sacrifice, however painful; but as Dictator, I should not be more serviceable to you than I hope to be as Commander-in-chief. If you will consent to follow my counsel, give extensive power to Manin for two days. In that short space, call the parliament together, which will name a stable government." This was done. The deputies nominated a triumvirate, composed of Manin, formerly an advocate; Graziani, vice-admiral; and Cavedalis, who had the reputation of being an excellent patriot and a clever engineer, but who had never performed any military achievements. This triumvirate was elected on the 13th of August by the Assembly, who gave the Presidency of it to Manin.

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## CHAPTER XII.

### CHARLES ALBERT'S CAMPAIGN IN 1848.

THE military and political condition of Italy and of the Sardinian kingdom are such, that if the latter were ruled by a prince of truly Italian sentiments, possessing at the same time the talent of organising and leading his army, he might in a very short time free Italy from a foreign yoke. If a similar king at the same time governed the Two Sicilies, not only might Italy be independent, but the Austrian empire might also be menaced with 100,000 well-organised troops; and, thanks to their navy, the Italian sovereigns would be masters of the Adriatic, and in a position to invade any of the Austrian provinces which are washed by that sea.

But I must now write of Sardinia. The Italians had immense difficulties to over-

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come, in order to overthrow the absolute power of six princes, one of whom was both Pope and King; while the Emperor of Austria was established in the heart of our Peninsula with a large army, which might at any moment be reinforced, and was master of Venice, Peschiera, Verona, and Mantua. To conceive the difficulties which Italy had to encounter merely to overthrow the absolute power of six princes, we must recollect all the efforts made by England and France to obtain liberty. The former had a Parliament, and the latter its States-General, with each only one king and one court, and neither were under the dominion of priests or of a foreign power.

In the midst of these almost insurmountable obstacles, scarcely had fortune smiled on the Italians, who are supposed to be unripe for liberty by nations which never knew real liberty, when behold them seizing on the first hope of better fortune. At the first sound which came from the lips of Pius IX., all the Italian provinces

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re-echoed "Liberty!" Not satisfied with meagre institutions, the Calabrese and the Messinese demand a constitution: they combat with the royal troops and are subdued; but Palermo and Naples have better fortune. King Ferdinand is forced to swear to a constitution, the Pope and the other princes are compelled to imitate him, and all the states of Italy are constitutional. A grave question now arises: Will these princes be faithful to their oaths? Not a whit. They will not at once perjure themselves; but gradually they will incense the people by failing, now in one, and then in another of their promises, until a struggle ensues. If the nation conquers, the cry will be of Exaggeration and Mobocracy; if it is conquered, woe betide it, as happened in Naples, in Rome, in Tuscany. The princes will scarcely have resumed their absolute authority, when they will prove that their oaths were but perjuries in their hearts. Examples of this turpitude have already been given by Ferdinand I. and Francis I.

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in Naples, in 1820 and 1821. The first, after taking his oath in the royal chapel, turned to me and said "*This time, I assure you, I have sworn from my heart;*" and he placed his hand on his heart, while his face was bathed in tears, and I wept at his tears!

But for this once, fortune seemed to protect Italy, by a royal exception in her favour. The only one of her princes of real Italian dynasty, and able to dispose of an army of almost 100,000 valiant men, warmly embraced the national cause. This circumstance would have been sufficient to insure the success of Italy, if the valorous prince, who had the generosity to hasten to the aid of the intrepid Lombards, had not been perpetually thwarted by a proud and poor aristocracy, by his Jesuit clergy, and by no small number of patriots, some of whom through ignorance, others through self-interest, acted to the prejudice of Italy, by giving themselves up to the most senseless anachronisms, since they were more impatient to obtain liberal institutions than to drive away the

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foreigner, whose presence signified slavery. Why did they not remember those magnanimous words of Charles Albert, "*L'Italia farà da se?*" Had it not been for these misfortunes, this prince would have redeemed Italy; thanks to his own valour and that of his troops, and in spite of the want of a mind to organise an army, and lead it to the enemy.

Truth, according to Polybius, is as necessary to history, as sight to animals; and in writing this I feel bound, though in sorrow, to remember the precepts of that excellent writer. Yes, the brave, the most gallant, the most Italian Charles Albert, was deficient in the qualities of a captain.

Cæsar said he had defeated Pompey, because he encountered a captain without an army. True it is, that the duty of a good captain is to organise the troops he commands: but the Senate and the Roman aristocracy fomented insubordination among the republican troops, and thereby incapacitated a general from

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organising them, and meeting the enemy according to his views.

In the Sardinian kingdom there was want of skilfulness in the leader, and defective organisation in the troops. In the most arduous moments Charles Albert's army was in need sometimes of provisions, sometimes of artillery. The infantry, who are the nerves of war, remained but a very short time under arms, and much too long inactive in their families. Some of the soldiers of the Piedmontese battalions who came to Venice, told me they had spent twelve years away from their banners. Promotion was given by favour, by connexion, and by weakness. A Romarino was lieutenant-general. With such an administration, such organisation in the *personnel*, an army composed of the bravest men in the world is not fit to meet the enemy. Thus the bravery which the Piedmontese troops displayed in more than one battle, and in several encounters, was almost prodigious; it did honour to Piedmont and to Italy, the more because

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they were badly, wretchedly, commanded, against all the most obvious principles of the science of war, as I will soon demonstrate.

Though in Italy the fever of independence, which broke out in the cities, was not equally violent in the country, yet it is undeniable that the Milanese insurrection spread, without any interruption, like a flame, to the limits of the Isonzo and the Alps. A battalion which garrisoned Monza was certainly made captive. The garrison of Como surrendered, and that of Pavia was compelled to follow the retreat of Radetzky. At the same time the Brescians, after having imprisoned two generals and many officers, forced the garrison to surrender. Three Italian battalions, which were at Cremona and at Pizzighettone, embraced the national cause. Finally, Venice drove the Austrians from the city and from all the Estuary, as well as from almost all the other cities of the ancient Venetian provinces. In Milan, without losing an instant, a government was organised, which

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made every effort to assist Charles Albert, whose assistance they had invoked in the first moments. This prince had the high merit of not having hesitated an instant to declare himself in favour of the Italian cause; and if the movements of his columns had only been a few days more rapid, the Austrian army must have been obliged to surrender in a short time.

General Teodoro Lecchi, who was called to the command of the Lombard troops, if he could immediately have disposed of a Sardinian column, by embarking in boats which they had shut up in Pavia, and ascending the Po, might have surprised Mantua, while the rest of the army marching rapidly forwards, would have broken through the line of the Mincio, and thus prevented the other forts from providing themselves with stores of provisions.

The same general also proposed at the same time to send a Sardinian regiment in support of the movable columns expedited in the direction of the gorges of Italian Tyrol. Thus the countries on the side of

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Bassano, which had been in complete insurrection, would have been placed in communication with the Venetian provinces, and with Venice itself. Supposing even that the probable capture of Mantua had not succeeded, the King, after reaching Bassano either by way of the Tyrol, or debouching between Mantua and the Po on Rovigo, might have established his forces in Padua, and thence have cut off all communication between the Austrian army and Austria; and by this means the salvation of the Peninsula would have been effected. Padua might have served Charles Albert as an entrenched camp, more useful to him than that of Verona to Radetzky. Imagine the King, with 50,000 of his troops in Padua, a walled city, rendered stronger by the water which surrounds it, in communication with Venice by a railroad, and let us examine what his military situation would have been there. Lombardy, the Venetian provinces, Tuscany, the Roman states, would have furnished 60,000 men. These troops, being under his eyes, would

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have been better organised than were the 18,000 Romans, who found themselves separated from him. The King would have disposed of half the number in garrisons, and in the Tyrolese or Lombard insurrectional wars. The remaining 30,000, chosen by himself, he would have joined to his own 50,000 men, and formed a total of 80,000 men, having for the basis of their operations Padua and Venice. The Roman provinces on the Adriatic would have abundantly supplied the Sardinian camp with provisions. The Sardo-Venetian squadron, according to a statement drawn up for me by Vice-Admiral Graziani, might have embarked not fewer than 20,000 men. From thence Charles Albert might have landed at Trieste and all the other Austrian seaports, and after levying the same tribute which Austria raises in Italy, and destroying all the Austrian navy, he might have landed his 20,000 men on the left of the Isonzo, and thence, according to circumstances, have directed a large body on Padua. There is no manœuvre, no military

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movement, which the King might not have accomplished from Venice by sea, or from Padua by land; having always for his first object to oppose the arrival of all aid to the Austrians.

Let us now examine what Marshal Radetzky could have done. The choice of three operations was left to him. To invade Lombardy and Piedmont; to remain on the defensive between the Mincio and the Adige; or, in fine, to march against the Sardinian army.

In the first case the 40,000, or at least the 30,000 Sardinians left by the King in Piedmont, united with the National Guard mobilised, might always have retired into the many strong positions which are offered by the forts over against the Alps, and in the vicinity of Genoa, in order to be ready to combat the enemy at the right moment. In any case they would have executed the orders of their king, who would have had the choice either of keeping behind the enemy and combating him in his rear, or of waiting for him well

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entrenched before Verona and Mantua. I do not descant on what the Lombard insurgents would have done; I only maintain that the Austrians would have lost the advantage of their highly prized forts.

Had the Austrian general chosen to shut himself up in his forts, every one must see that his total loss would have resulted.

In the third supposition, the parts would have been changed: not the King, but Radetzky, would have presented himself before the enemy, shut up between Padua and Venice; but the circumstances differ widely. Venice could neither be besieged nor blockaded by the enemy, who could not have prevented Charles Albert from bringing 20,000 men from the Lagoon, in order to land them wherever he found most useful, and then re-embark them at his pleasure. The superiority of Charles Albert's position is evident. He had the sea open to him; that of Marshal Radetzky was protected by Mantua and Verona. But Italy's evil fortune did not allow her leader to profit by such decisive



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advantages. Towards the end of April, Charles Albert marched with his columns towards the Mincio, which he passed. He had under his command 60,000 Piedmontese, 5000 Tuscans, 3000 men from Parma and Modena, 17,000 from the Roman states, 5000 Lombard volunteers,—in all, 90,000 men, without including large Lombard battalions, which were being formed with much celerity. The King committed the two great errors of not vigorously pursuing the enemy, and of not allowing the general insurrection, so well begun, to extend itself with energy from Lombardy to the Tyrol, which would have called to arms all the mountaineers of the ancient Venetian provinces. The prince committed a third error, by adopting a false system of combating the enemy, which was fatal to all Italy.

His plan of campaign was to place his forces in line from Mantua to Peschiera, and to begin the siege of the last of these places. Its reduction would certainly have been an advantage, if it had not had the

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most fatal results. The first was that of remaining motionless, with shouldered arms, while his troops were warm with enthusiasm, and eager to try their hand at the bayonet, which, if an Italian soldier has had only two or three trials, he will always succeed in using well. But this repose was injurious to our troops, active by nature, and inebriated with patriotism; while it greatly rejoiced the Austrians, tired with continual marches, discouraged by so many losses, and such unexpected revolutions, not only in Italy, but in France, in Germany itself, and in their most conspicuous capitals — Vienna and Berlin.

On the other hand, this same repose, or rather this precious time lost in inaction, gave the enemy an opportunity of receiving aid, and reinforcing their army, as unhappily was the case; whereas they would not have added a single man to their ranks had the King passed the Adige, which might easily have been done if he had been established in the Venetian provinces. The



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utility of history, as influencing human acts, is conspicuous only when the events narrated coincide exactly with the present. Thus, in the position of Charles Albert, it was useless to remember that Bonaparte suspended his movements, in order to occupy himself with taking Mantua, because the great captain did not possess Venice, nor was he master of the Adriatic: he had not the Lombard insurrection in his favour, nor the Italians everywhere disposed to favour him. As I said in the eighth chapter, I had scarcely reached Bologna with the first corps of the Neapolitan army, when I was informed of the tendency of the King to remain stationary, facing the enemy, who were shut up in their forts; wherefore I wrote to him that I should soon have passed the Po, and only begged to be permitted to pass into the Venetian provinces.

This tendency on the King's part was so tenacious that not even the advantages gained over the enemy made him deviate from it. In fact, after having repulsed

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the Austrians at Pastrengo, and a month later at Goito (where the valour of the Piedmontese was so conspicuous, and the enemy so severely beaten), the King did not leave the positions he occupied; and on the arrival of Nugent with 20,000 men, the Austrians were repaid with usury for the momentary loss of Peschiera. The inaction of Charles Albert also gave Radetzky time to collect another 15,000 men, brought to him by General Welden, and at the same time to march on Vicenza to beat Durando, and oblige the Roman garrison in that city to promise not to enter the field again for three months. The addition of 35,000 men and the fall of Vicenza were sufficient to change the gloomy aspect which Austrian affairs had worn previous to those events.

To show the necessity of caution in reading the many pamphlets which have been written on our last misfortunes, I will mention that in two of these it is said, that while the combat was going on in Vicenza, General Pepe had passed the Po

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with 8000 men, and that his vanguard was arrived at Monselice; that from Monselice he threw himself into Padua, and that the remainder of the 8000 men had time to do the same; that Pepe, either ill-informed of what had happened, or not trusting in his troops, instead of defending Padua, commanded his vanguard to retreat to Venice, where he entered himself by the coast road. In all this there is not a word of truth, as my own narrative will have proved. When I wanted to pass the Po, I was unhappily followed only by 2000 men, including two feeble battalions of volunteers, who, though new to arms, conducted themselves like brave soldiers in the defence of the Estuary.

The King thought it desirable to occupy Rivoli, and on the 10th of June, with two divisions, he executed his project, which tended still farther to prolong his line. On the return of the prince to Garda, he was informed of Radetzky's movement on Vicenza, and believing the garrison of Verona to be feeble, he concentrated his

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troops on the evening of the 12th round Villa Franca, in order to make an assault on that city the following day; but he was afterwards obliged to give up this plan, as the Austrian Marshal from Vicenza had again entered Verona.

Throughout all Italy were vaunted the taking of Peschiera and of the positions of Rivoli, and the advantages obtained by the Italians in several encounters; but all mention was omitted of the fact, that Radetzky had received most powerful aid, that he was again master of the Venetian provinces, and, possessing unmolested communication with Austria, could obtain whatever succour he might need.

That the Italians may not in future fall into their past most destructive errors, I will mention that in Venice, and in Milan, and still more in Rome, the direction of the war was given to men of no weight, mere would-be generals, who desired to enter the army with superior rank; and many who were in the service asked only for promotion, and placed themselves in the

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first ranks of the patriotic societies. In Venice this disorder was partly repaired; in Milan, but imperfectly; while in Rome the evil was so great, that alone it would have been sufficient to destroy all order and discipline.

In the first days of July, the King, including the reinforcements received from Lombardy, Tuscany, Parma, and Modena, had united 80,000 men, without counting nearly 22,000 in Venice, who were daily, though in the midst of fever and sickness, acquiring discipline and Italian sentiments.

It seems scarcely credible that Charles, instead of perceiving the error of his system of inactivity, in presence of the enemy's strong fortresses, decided on besieging Mantua; that is to say, on extending his right line, and renouncing all idea of attacking the Austrians, of passing the Adige, and seizing the advantages offered by Venice and the Sardo-Venetian squadron.

Towards the end of July the King commanded 80,000 men including the sick, and Radetzky had nearly as many, but

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concentrated, and not spread out, as the Sardinians were, in a line extending from Mantua to Rivoli. Nevertheless, the Austrians, who wished to attack these positions, were repulsed with glory to the Piedmontese. The King understood the necessity of abandoning Rivoli, and found himself in a state to sustain the combat which took place in the open country.

This combat was followed by the battle of Custoza, which the Piedmontese lost, not from want of valour, for they showed much, but from want of leadership. The loss of this battle decided the sad issue of the campaign: not on account of the losses of the vanquished, but on account of the great moral suffering which weighed them down. All the elements of disorganisation which existed in the Sardinian army seemed to be brought to light; they discovered that all their valour, and all the blood that had been shed, was useless. Already provisions and ammunition failed. The King determined to retreat, and, in order to recross the Mincio, he thought

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it indispensable to retake the position of Valta.

There, again, another combat proved adverse to the Piedmontese, and general discouragement was the result among the soldiers, officers, war commissaries, and their commissioners, so that the King, yielding to the counsels of his generals, demanded an armistice, the conditions of which were never accorded.

The King had nearly 50,000 men remaining, but the want of confidence which he saw in all around him made him lose all hope of reinstating his affairs in their former position. On the evening of the 25th of July, Charles Albert decided on retreating, *viâ* Cremona; but he desired, in the first place, to cover part of Lombardy and the city of Milan, where he arrived the 3rd of August.

I will say no more on the sad and fatal termination of this campaign, so unworthy of the valour and patriotism of which both the army and its chief had given such unequivocal and repeated proofs.

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I will limit myself to observing, that, with 25,000 men, Charles Albert might have defended Milan against 35,000 Austrians, if the inhabitants, mindful of their former five days' heroism, had assisted the Piedmontese, not only in defending their capital, but also in driving the enemy to a distance. This is the more certain as the Lombard population would, infallibly, have shown the courage which the heroic population of Brescia afterwards displayed.

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## CHAPTER XIII.

**The French decide on sending 4000 men to Venice.—The Navy of Venice.—Progress of the fortifications in the Estuary.—Sickness.—Departure of the squadron of Charles Albert, and then of his three battalions.—The Venetian Militia organised into Legions.—Menaces of recalling the four Roman Legions.—Secret information to the government regarding the National Guards of Chioggia.—Order of the Day.—Hints to the Italian clubs for the assistance of abandoned Venice.—The Author gives up all his emoluments.—Sally of Cavellino. Affair of Mestre.**

THE French republic had determined on sending 4000 men to Venice, as will appear from a letter of the Duke d'Harcourt, which I transcribe:—

"ROME, *9th September*, 1848.

"DEAR GENERAL,

"I wrote to you two days ago; to-day I will tell you that we are very discontented with the bad faith of the Austrians in the negociations, and there is reason to believe that they are broken off.

"Several ships of war, and 4000 men,

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are being sent from hence to be disembarked at Venice.

"Hold firm till their arrival; it is through you perhaps, at least I hope it, that the salvation of Italy will be effected.

"Your devoted

"HARCOURT."

The arrival of the above-named troops would have changed the aspect of affairs in all Italy, and consequently in all Germany, but fortune was not with us.

Foreseeing that we should be abandoned by the Sardinian navy, after providing for our wants on land, it was necessary to devote our endeavours exclusively to the sea. The *personnel* of the Venetian navy was indisputably better than that of Austria, but the number of our vessels was inferior; with a determined will, we might have purchased two steam-frigates; we might, at the same time, have introduced better discipline than that which existed, and thus the Adriatic would have remained open to Venice.

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In all the Estuary, the fortifications were advancing; in my reports to the government, and my Orders of the Day, I was careful to point out to the army, and to the population, the names of the officers who had best co-operated in the defence. Malghera, Treporti, Lido, Brondolo, were doubly strong as compared with the state in which I found them in June.

The sickness, inevitable at the end of summer and the beginning of autumn, in almost all the islands of the Lagoon, harrowed my mind with anxiety. The Lombard battalion, of about 800 men, was at one moment reduced to 100 men capable of service. I was afraid of being left without men to mount guard. The Neapolitans, between Chioggia and the Brenda, had suffered severely. Nor did all recover from this fever; many were so invalided as to obtain leave of absence, and what was worse, many died. There was no scourge which we did not suffer during that long siege.

In the midst of the sickness which

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deprived me of so many hands, we were abandoned by the Sardinian squadron, and then by the three battalions which had been sent us by Carlo Alberto; and, as if all these evils were not enough to overwhelm us, notice reached me that Pius IX. recalled his four legions. On repairing to the seat of government, I gave my hand to Manin, the president, saying to him, "Abandoned by men and by heaven, let us die without envying the living, but defending liberty and this classic Lagoon while life remains."

I had ordered a steam-boat to be ready one morning at eleven o'clock, to take me to Chioggia. The government sent for Colonel Ulloa, chief of my staff, and charged him to tell me not to go to Chioggia, a city of 30,000 inhabitants; for that the National Guard there, knowing I was authorised to take the command of them, and not being willing to submit to my orders of changing them into a military division, with regular service, had determined to fire on me. I replied to the

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government, that I was not accustomed to attend to threats. On embarking, I found my hostess, Countess Sorango, and the Countess Papadapoli Aldobrandini, with her husband, on board; and I then remembered that they were to accompany me to Chioggia for their amusement. Not to alarm them, I did not tell them of the fears of the government. The population of Chioggia was believed, in Venice, to be inclined to disorder and opposition. I found the National Guard drawn out in close order, and only a few of them in uniform. Traversing the front of their line, I spoke to each of them, and to the reasons they alleged, I answered in such a way as to make them promise to equip themselves, and they ended in being quite satisfied with me. It happened that to two or three among them, who were not luxuriously dressed, I said, "I read in your physiognomy that you are rich, and therefore the expense of a uniform will be a trifle to you." This excited the laughter of those near them, who marvelled more-

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over at my guesses being several times true. The National Guard were so satisfied with me that on defiling to military music they cheered me warmly, and sent their military bands to my house. To lead men, we must study the human heart.

I will here transcribe a letter from the old companion of my exile, Mamiani, who wrote to me from Rome, and whose letter shows at the same time his love of Italian independence, and the state of that truly sacerdotal government.

"My good General,

"I hope the ministers here will not recall the troops; and we have obtained for them clothing as you will see. We shall do all in our power to get what is most needed, *i.e.*, some assistance in money. But, from fear of Austria, every thing must be done secretly to avoid the appearance of co-operating in the Italian cause. I am sorry to say that the instrument of this miserable policy is Count Fabbri, a good old civilian, worn by years, and little used



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to affairs. I have not failed to fill the office of a friend to him, praying and conjuring him to quit the ministry.

"No one is surprised at your obstinate and invincible courage. You will not fail to conclude as you began; fortune may still overwhelm you with trials and adversities, but she cannot prevent them from being glorious and salutary to Italy. I cannot believe that Italy will not rise from this last stroke—for she has the conviction of being able to conquer, and she will do it. The terror which the Austrian arms inspired is for ever dissipated: the conspiracy of kings is ended. My mission to the Neapolitan parliament will be without effect, since Bozzelli only the day before yesterday stopped the entry into the kingdom. But to return to Venice; I feel myself bound to adopt every means in my power to force this government to send you assistance, and I shall do it with much zeal, if not with great success. Every thing moves me to this; the salvation of Italy, love of that unhappy capital,

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affection for you, and gratitude moreover for the trust which this Provisional Government places in me, honouring me by writing to me ex-officio, and overwhelming my small merits with undue praise. But besides the insufficiency of my faculties, I am at this moment attacked by calumnies, and much out of favour with the Pontiff, because the retrograde, the egotists, and the fearful, run me down. At any rate I shall not cease to labour on to the end.

"Adieu, &c. &c.

"MAMIANI.

"ROME, *3rd September*, 1848."

In the meantime, far from despairing, I directed the organisation of great part of the militia into legions, and though I met with considerable difficulties, yet I ended by succeeding.

*Order of the Day.*

"THE Commander-in-Chief in the Venetian States orders that all the corps, whether regular or irregular, shall be divided into legions, composed of the



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individuals belonging to the Venetian provinces. These legions shall be formed as follows:—

"*The 1st Legion*, composed of the 1st, 2nd, and 3rd battalions of the present 1st legion of the guard mobile, shall be commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Giuseppe Jehan.

"*The 2nd Legion*, composed of the 4th battalion of the present 1st legion, and of the 2nd and 3rd battalions of the 2nd legion of the guard mobile, shall be commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Eugenio Vandoni.

"*The 3rd Legion*, composed of the 3rd battalion of the present 2nd legion guard mobile, of the battalion from Vicenza (*Zanellato*), of the Paduan guard mobile (*Stucchi*), and of the *Spangaro*, *Zerman*, and *Grondoni* companies, shall be commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Zanellato.

"*The 4th Legion*, composed of the Trivigiano battalion (*Galateo*), and of the Paduan crusaders (*Cavalletto*), will be

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commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel San Martino.

"*The 5th Legion*, composed of the legion of Sile, and some portions of the Prato battalion, shall be commanded by Colonel Amigo.

"Major Ciro Foglia will command the 1st battalion of the 1st legion thus constituted, and Major Antonio Torriani the 2nd battalion.

"The 1st battalion of the 2nd legion shall be commanded by Rodolfo Dea; the 2nd battalion by Guiseppe Zambori, and provisionally by Captain Pietro Spangaro.

"The 1st battalion of the 3rd legion aforesaid shall be commanded by Major Antonio Sartori; and the 2nd battalion by Major Napoleone Stucchi; the 3rd battalion by Major Alessandro Jehan.

"The 1st battalion of the 4th legion shall be commanded by Major Guiseppe Galateo; the 2nd battalion by Major Cavalletto.

"The 1st battalion of the 5th legion

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shall be commanded by Major Nicolo Radonich; the 2nd battalion by Major Guiseppe Francesconi.

"The officers in command of the legions and battalions will be responsible for the good and exact performance of the service.

"Subordination, the soul of military service, must be maintained by the adoption of more rigorous measures, and by inexorably enforcing the articles of war against all who are guilty. The above-named commanders will remain responsible for the adequate instruction of their subordinates of every grade.

"The Commander-in-Chief expects from the zeal and patriotism of the soldiers of all ranks, that they will assist, without fearing fatigues and sacrifices, in lightening the difficult mission of their chiefs.

"G. PEPE.

"VENICE, 17*th August*, 1848."

Perceiving that the times were unpropitious, a few days before the three Sardinian battalions embarked, I published the following Order of the Day.

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"VOLUNTEERS, SOLDIERS, OFFICERS,

"I had scarcely completed my fifteenth year when, driven into exile, I fought in the ranks of the immortal Italian legion. After this legion had crossed the great St. Bernard, alone it vanquished the Austrians near Varallo; and this victory was the fortunate prelude to Marengo, which so highly raised the fame of the Italian Captain.

"This legion was composed of Neapolitans, Romans, Tuscans, Lombards, Venetians, and Piedmontese, all of them young and new to arms, but devoted to the love of Italy. That was an anticipated image of the corps which I have now the honour to lead, which seems to have received from Heaven the glorious charge of defending this ancient and classical asylum of peninsular liberty. If that legion bade defiance to snowy mountains, to long marches, and to so many other fatigues, you, with unparalleled patriotism, support sickness and privations of every kind: if they victoriously combated the ancient enemies of Italy,

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you attack them with hearts worthy of equal good fortune. But now behold them advancing, divided between the shame of having been defeated by the unarmed populations of Venice, of Milan, and of Bologna, and the pride of the recent victory which they have gained on the banks of the Mincio!

"Officers, Soldiers, Volunteers, the eyes of Italy and of all Europe are on us. From these shores we may, perhaps, be so fortunate as to contribute greatly to Italian independence; from this country of heroes, who, having made themselves masters of the sea, were formerly a shield against the barbarians that menaced the civilisation of the west.

"The enemy, combating under the walls of our fortresses, will lose those advantages, which his long-taught and mechanical discipline has obtained for him in the field.

"Let us defend Venice, the bulwark of Italy, which in so many centuries has never fallen, though often attacked by

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enemies very superior to those who now oppose us. We will defend it till the promised aid arrives. Rather than abandon our Venetian brethren to slavery, we will meet death without repining. The protection which the Estuary offers us will enable us to fall not unavenged, and the true sons of Italy will envy the fate of the defenders of Venice.

"GUGLIELMO PEPE.

"VENICE, *23rd August*, 1848."

But Venice was not only abandoned by its land and sea forces, not only menaced by the recall of the Roman soldiers, an evil still more serious was threatening her, which was poverty. The population of the Lagoon amounted at the utmost to 200,000, and they were expected to maintain all the land and sea forces, and moreover to furnish their clothing, household utensils, &c., &c. To supply so many wants, an appeal to Italian patriotism was made; on many arduous occasions the reply had proved heroic, but now it

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was feeble. I published the following Circular, in order to exhort the Italians to be generous towards Venice, or rather towards the cause of Italian independence,—

"*The Commander-in-Chief of the armed Corps in Venice, to the War Committees and National Circles of all the Italian Provinces.*

"FROM this remaining rampart of Italian independence, from Venice so illustrious in arts, so splendid in history, whose resistance, in the unforeseen and precipitous decline of Italian fortune, is a sure pledge of reviving destiny, a cry is raised which will resound over the entire Peninsula. Here are met together Lombards, Subalpines, Romans, and Neapolitans, to assist the valorous inhabitants in the defence of the classical Lagoon. Here almost every province in Italy is represented in the last struggle of our country against our common oppressor. The garrison, though attenuated by sickness, is still sufficient for the defence, animated as it

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is by a noble spirit, warm with patriotic love, ready for all dangers, patient in suffering, and assisted by the National Guard. We have still spirit, and strength, and an obstinate hope of fruitfully shedding our blood for Italy. But the treasury is exhausted by long and frequent calls; the occupation of the Venetian terra firma has deprived us of the means of replenishing it in proportion with our wants, and the many millions of lire lately given by the citizens are insufficient. Shall we leave Italy, which seems to have risen as one man to drive away the hated German, shall we leave her last defenders to perish for want of pecuniary assistance? If the governments, which should remain united, have been separated; if they, who should have manfully persevered in the well commenced enterprise, but who have been cast down by the first reverses, if they are less mindful of the nation, let *her*, at least, endeavour to prove herself worthy of a better fate. No government can forbid that the urgent necessities of Venice should

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receive pecuniary succour. Let subscriptions be opened; let collections be made; every citizen will give the sacred obole to the city which is combating in the van of national independence. Since this city has miraculously escaped from the hands of Austria, and has once again been given by Heaven to Italy, it would be infamy and impiety to lose it again by avarice. While Venice is free, Italy is not lost: and a powerful neighbour may, in spite of dark diplomatic tergiversations, still succour it in time.

"War Committees of all the Italian provinces! what remains but to send pecuniary aid at least to Venice, which is still in arms? National circles! what other resource have you but in helping the last armed representative of the nation? May your assistance be ample, speedy, and efficacious, and we shall feel you to be brothers as much as if you were fighting beside us.

"GUGLIELMO PEPE.

"VENICE, 23*rd August*, 1848."

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As example is ever the best stimulant, I, who had already given up half the salary which had been awarded me, and which amounted to 70,000 francs a year, now resigned the whole sum, and the President Manin rewarded me with usury by the following letter:—

"GENERAL,

"The government is penetrated with profound gratitude for the gift you have made it of all the emoluments due to you, and it thanks you with heartfelt gratitude for this, as well as for your esteem for the people of Venice.

"Yes, General, they deserve this esteem. Their greatness of mind has overcome the greatness of their wants. Italy will aid them; it will respond to the example which you, who have grown grey in defending her independence, do not cease to hold out.

"Accept, General, the assurance of my high consideration. "MANIN.

*"President of the Provisional Government of Venice, 19th October*, 1848."

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A contemporary of mine in Naples, Ruiz, who as captain of artillery had valiantly combated under my orders at the battle of Rieti, and against the Austrians, had been made prisoner in 1823, while defending liberty in Spain, at the battle of Slado, and conducted into France, where he settled and was naturalised. He there became Prefect of the Nièvre, and he now published an address to the French, exhorting them to succour Venice. Among other things he told them that the fate of modern civilisation would be decided in Venice and on the plains of Lombardy, and at the same time Ruiz contributed 1000 francs to the proposed offering.

To increase the esteem felt for Venice, I thought it right to undertake somewhat bolder measures than at first, though I could not risk any hazardous sallies, for the government adduced a thousand reasons, all political, to exact the delay of all important movements till better times.

On the 22nd of October, I limited myself to sending out from Treporti a column

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composed of chasseurs of the line, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel d'Amigo, to drive away the Austrians from a position on the Cavellino which their artillery occupied. My men were protected by a *bragozzo* and three pirogues armed for warfare, and these boats descended down the canal Pordilio. The whole expedition was under the direction of Lieutenant-Colonel Girolamo Ulloa, the head of my staff. The chasseurs placed themselves at the head of the vanguard, and had scarcely come within musket shot, when they beat the charge, and threw themselves on the Austrians, with bayonets fixed, and with so much violence, as to force them not only to retreat precipitately, but also to abandon two pieces of artillery protected by campaign works. This feat of arms was highly lauded by the Venetians, as they all knew that the enemy's forces were superior to ours. I had the two captured guns transported into the Piazza of St. Mark.

The Triumvirs had hoped by moderation, and through the intervention of England

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and France, to obtain some considerable advantage for Venice, and for this reason they had recommended me to abstain from operations which might attract observation; but when they perceived that they had little or nothing to hope, and even saw themselves suspected of being unwilling to join the common cause of all Italy, then, in order to show by their acts that in Venice there were truly Italian sentiments, they let me know that I was free to act according to my own impulse. I therefore determined to send my volunteers against the enemy, and thus, by example, persuade the inhabitants of the Peninsula to take up arms again. On the 26th of October the government gave me this notice. The combat of Mestre took place on the 27th, the particulars of which will be found narrated in the ensuing Order of the Day. But before reading this order it is necessary to know that there were a thousand difficulties to prevent the defenders of the Lagoon from executing reconnoissances, sorties, or above all from

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taking any numerous column by surprise. The enemy's corps were at a distance from Venice, which they had hemmed in by a circle of detachments; and in case of assault they fell back between their entrenchments and the marshes. The only neighbouring position which contained a sufficient number of troops was the city of Mestre, half an hour's distance from Malghera. But it was well fortified, and protected by marshy lands. I could not spare many troops to attack it, because in case of a check I should have endangered the safety of Venice. Nevertheless, to rouse dormant Italian patriotism, I was obliged to risk much, and to assault the enemy in their fort of Mestre.

*Order of the Day.*

"VENICE, 29*th October*, 1848.

"On the morning of the 27th before dawn, the General-in-Chief, surrounded by his staff, from the lunette No. 12 in the fort of Malghera, observed the movement of three columns, which contained in all about 2000 bayonets. That on the left consisted of 450 men of the fifth Venetian



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legion, commanded by its colonel D'Amigo, and embarked on a number of boats; it was preceded by five pirogues and two scouts, under the orders of Captain Basilesso of the navy. These boats, with their artillery, were intended to facilitate the landing of our men in Fuseria.

"The Colonel had instructions to occupy that post, and afterwards the part of Boaria which adjoins the city of Mestre, so as to form a reserve for the centre column. This column consisted of 900 men, commanded by Colonel Morandi, and composed of Lombard and Bolognese volunteers; its orders were to dislodge the enemy entrenched on the railroad, and then to occupy Mestre by force. The right column of 650 men, formed of the free Italian battalion, and the chasseurs of the Upper Reno, commanded by Colonel Zambeccari, had orders to take a barricade erected on the narrow banks of the canal of Mestre, and defended by two guns, and by considerable numbers of infantry posted in the neighbouring houses, which were fortified with loopholes.

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"The dawn was appearing; the pirogues, not yet arrived at their posts on account of the unusual fog, had not commenced firing. The four field-pieces destined for the right column were not come from the island of Lido; but all further delay would have been injurious, and it became necessary, therefore, to begin the assault with the bayonet.

"The strength of the enemy was about 3000 men on the whole line, besides 2000 entrenched in Mestre, which was also defended by many field-pieces, and by chasseurs ready to fire from the houses.

"The centre column was stopped by the fire of the muskets, and by the artillery of the enemy. The General-in-Chief despatched Colonel Ulloa with one hundred gendarmes of the reserve, and with this reinforcement he rallied and urged on the column at the *pas de charge;* and they penetrated into the city. They were stopped a second time; but in spite of the obstinate resistance they encountered, and the great loss they sustained, they advanced onwards.

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"The enemy, after losing part of their artillery, defended themselves from the houses. Captain Sirtori, Major Rosaroll, and Captain Cattabene, bold even to temerity, undertook with a handful of brave Lombards to drive out the Austrians house by house, and thus opened the way to our troops, who occupied the city militarily.

"It was in this affair that Baron Alessandro Poërio, a volunteer on my staff, received a musket-shot in his leg; he continued to advance, and received a second in the right knee; and while lying on the ground, the enemy wounded him on the head with his own dagger. While his right thigh was being amputated, this brave Poërio conversed calmly of his beloved Italy—the heroes of Plutarch might have used the same language while speaking of Athens or Sparta.

"During these vicissitudes, the Zambeccari column, following the bank of the canal, encountered a strong barricade, defended by two seven-pounders, and made themselves masters of it with their

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bayonets. But the enemy, taking advantage of the inequalities in the sandy ground, and of some small cottages, greatly annoyed the rear of the column, so much so, that several among the volunteers hesitated; they were rallied again by Colonel Paolucci, and Major Assanti, under the eyes of the General-in-Chief: during the fray these two officers were generally by his side.

"As soon as the pirogues were in a position to fire, Colonel Amigo landed at Fusino, captured two twelve-pounders, abandoned by the Austrians, and made some prisoners; but he was not in time to facilitate the attack of Mestre, and was therefore unable to carry out the design of the Commander-in-Chief, by taking the enemy in the rear.

"Besides the results effected by the prodigious valour of the centre and right column, six hundred prisoners were taken, six bronze cannons, many horses, and a large quantity of ammunition.

"But what was still better, was to have proved that the Italian volunteers, who

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only a few months before had taken arms for the first time, commanded by officers for the most part new to the profession, had beaten the Austrians, who were superior in number, well entrenched, obstinately defended, and prepared overnight to receive us, and who made use of the loop-holed houses as a second line of defence.

"The General-in-Chief wishes that those who are accustomed to say that he places too much confidence in the volunteers, had seen the Lombards and the Bolognese fighting; they would have observed with astonishment, that these bold men employed in preference the bayonet and the dagger, and despised every obstacle, as if determined to give their lives for the glory of their country; they would have admired their calmness and order, which might have honoured the most expert veterans; they would also have heard those who were most seriously wounded hailing Italian liberty, from which death was so soon to separate them.

"When a nation has such sons, when

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among its people there are men who run to the struggle as did those of Milan and Bologna, it will triumph over the most powerful enemies.

"G^LMO PEPE."

This order of the day was followed by notices of the names of those who had most signalised themselves, with the number of our dead and wounded, amounting to above four hundred men; while the loss of the enemy was more than six hundred. In one house, where the resistance had been very obstinate, ninety dead bodies were found.

The day of Mestre was of great and durable advantage to Italy. Years ago, when I wrote my *Italia Militare*, and afterwards in my Memoirs, I wearied myself in endeavouring to demonstrate that the ancient valour of Italy is still alive; but few believed my words. But on the 27th October, 1848, I had the good fortune to place the worth of the Italian sword in evidence, and to prove that the youths of Italy, after passing only a few months under arms, combated success-

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fully, not only in the open field, but also in the midst of the defences of a warlike enemy.

Some Sardinian military men, who happened to be in Venice, in order to pay court to their prince, spread the report and published that I had endeavoured to induce the three Sardinian battalions to remain in Venice. This was pure invention. Not that I should have thought the attempt unworthy, but I was quite convinced it would be unsuccessful. The good of Italy, and her independence, have ever been supreme laws to me. The withdrawal of these three battalions from the Lagoon was of assistance, both militarily and morally, to the Austrians far more than to Charles Albert. He had sent these troops to Venice entirely of his own accord; but he recalled them only under compulsion,—forced by his disasters to obey the Austrian mandate.

END OF VOL. I.

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